

SCOTLAND'S STORY

3

**When Welsh was
Glasgow's
native tongue**

**Secrets of the
Pictish stones**

**The coming of
the Word**

**Shedding new
light on the Dark
Ages**

**Carnegie was
hard as steel**




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Around 400 AD

Christianity arrives in Scotland, brought by traders and soldiers.



550

Bishop Ninian joins the Christian community at Whithorn.



563

Columba founds the monastery on Iona, in the kingdom of Dal Riata.



700

Four stable kingdoms are established in Scotland - Angles, Britons, Gaels, Picts.



740

Unust, son of Urquist, and King of the Picts, conquers the Gaels of Dal Riata.



870

Vikings besiege the Britons' fortress on Dumbarton Rock for four months.



761

King Unust dies and is possibly entombed in the St Andrews Sarcophagus.



900

The Britons' Kingdom of Strathclyde re-emerges, stretching from the Clyde to Cumbria.



1018

Owein, the last King of the Britons, dies and their culture slowly vanishes from Scotland.



In Part 4:
Invaders bring terror from North and South

North Channel

PART OF IRELAND

PART OF ENGLAND



4 Land of our fathers

The ancestors of today's Glaswegians were Welsh-speaking Britons who ruled from the Clyde to Carlisle for 600 years.

6 Bloody battles for the Rock

The great fortress of Strathclyde's Britons was Dumbarton Rock, and it came under siege from Picts, Angles and Vikings.

8 The Govan mecca for art experts

An amazing hoard of medieval carvings lies hidden in a parish church.

10 Rough guide to the Dark Ages

Just because it was not recorded doesn't mean that nothing of interest happened in Scotland during early medieval times. Far from it...

12 Coming of the Word

While the first Scottish believers shared the faith of Christian world, they had their own way of doing things. And their own saints.

15 Carving a place in history

While we share the Britons, Gaels, Angles and Vikings with other nations, the Picts belong to Scotland alone.

18 A heritage set in stone

Pictish artists saved Scotland from what would have been one of the greatest losses in its history by the legacy of their carvings.

20 Lost creatures great and small

Early farmers cleared the forests and tamed some beasts, but other breeds paid the price and became extinct.

22 Time detectives

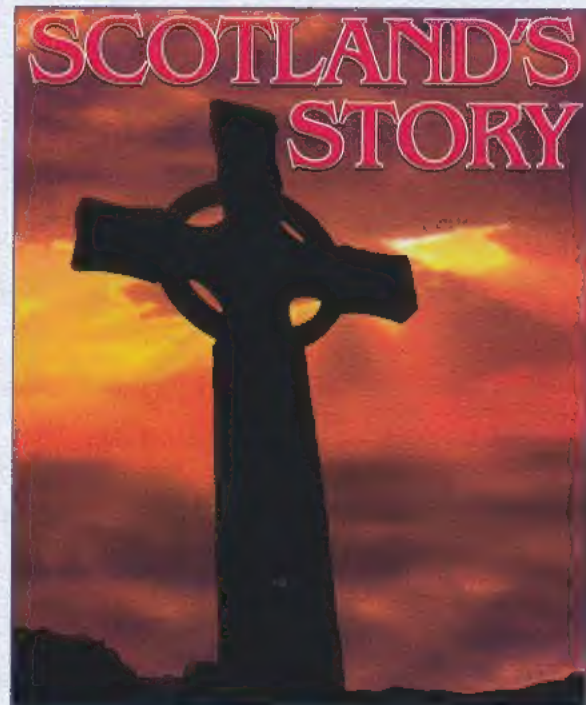
The work of archaeologists is like that of police investigators. And many of the finest clues are being found underwater.

Contributors to Part 3

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COVER: Celtic Cross symbolises the coming of the Word and Scotland's long Christian heritage.

The ancestors no one knows

Close to the centre of Glasgow is a collection of early

Scottish works of art which attracts experts from around the world. It is a national treasure, as important as Iona, yet it has been neglected by the city fathers and the tourist industry. So much so, that 16 priceless stone carvings were scooped up and dumped as rubble.

It seems incredible, but these symbols of our Christian heritage from more than a thousand years ago are virtually hidden, looked after by the minister and elders of Govan Parish Church.

Few people know about them.

And the reason appears to be simply that no one knows about the people who created them, the Britons who were the first Glaswegians.

It is time to put that right.

The belief is widely held that when the Romans left Scotland they turned off the lights, plunging us into centuries of barbarism known as the Dark Ages. Wrong.

This was the time when the Kingdom of the Scots started to take shape with the blending of differing nations and cultures. What is true is that most of their knowledge was passed down through the generations

by the spoken word, and thus is lost to us.

But history doesn't stand still.

Today we have increasingly sophisticated ways of recording, accumulating, and piecing together fragments of knowledge of that fascinating part of our past.

Tomorrow we shall know more.

James Tytler, the first Briton to be airborne, designed, built, successfully flew and safely landed a hot-air balloon in 1784. Later he edited the Encyclopedia Britannica.

A national hero? Not really.

He was regarded as a hack who dabbled in science, and was driven from the country after criticising the Government.

No apologies for returning to the neglected Britons, who are the closest we have to 'native' Scots.

As well as a priceless inheritance of literature, which we choose to ignore, we owe them many of the place names in the Central Belt.

Interestingly, their royal families gathered in Govan to worship.

This Celtic nation spoke Welsh, and their history was pure poetry, literally. Their bards' accounts of battles survive as our earliest known examples of written verse.

Land of our fathers

Britons are the ancestors no one seems to have heard about. They were Christians, spoke Welsh, worshipped at Govan, and ruled from Carlisle to Glasgow for 600 years. They are the nearest thing we have to a 'native' people

They called it Ystrat Clud – Strathclyde. Their royal church was at Govan, their hunting estate at Partick, their stronghold was Cadzow near Hamilton. They were the Welsh forefathers of today's Glaswegians. They were the Britons.

Of all the peoples who made up Scotland in the early historic period, the group who are probably least well known to the average Scot are the Britons. This is odd, as these are the people who were here when written history began, the nearest thing Scotland has to a "native" people.

When the Romans arrived in Britain, first in the 1st century BC, and then during their forays into Scotland in the 1st century AD, Britain was inhabited by Britons from south to north. The Romans called them Brittones.

The languages spoken throughout Britain, though varying no doubt in

dialects, was the language which later evolved into Welsh, Cornish and Breton. The Romans, of course, had a strong and sometimes violent impact on the native Britons after their colonisation.

In the case of the Britons who dwelt north of the Firth of Forth, their resistance to Roman rule led in time to their becoming different in language, culture and name from their southern fellows, and they emerged in time as the Picts.

In southern Scotland, between Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall, Roman control was loose and always fitful. Though never really conquered by Rome, the Britons who dwelt between the walls traded and formed alliances with the Romans, and were exposed on many levels to the Romanised culture of their southern neighbours, and to the technology and customs of the Roman army.

The Britons' fortunes ebbed and flowed over the succeeding centuries. At the height of their power in the 10th century kingdom of Strathclyde, they stamped their identity on Glasgow and a huge swathe of land sweeping south.

By this time the kings were British, and had British names – Rhydderch, Dyfnwal, Owein. The core of their kingdom was Lanarkshire.

But this kingdom stretched much further south. Its southern border was at Penrith, and we might see it as the kingdom of the M74 and the M6. The kingdom was also called Cumbria or Cumbreland, the land of the Cymry, the new name the Britons of the north took for

themselves – the same name as their southern Welsh compatriots had adopted. Indeed, compatriots is what Cymry means.

The kings of Cumbria ruled over many different peoples, not just Britons. The Angles of the now-collapsed kingdom of Bernicia, Gaels from north and west, and Scandinavians, too, from York and from the Isles, lived in this kingdom. But the British language had a revival, and new settlements were named in the British language in re-conquered lands.

The saints of Strathclyde – Mungo (Kentigern) of Glasgow, Constantine of Govan, and Patrick of Dumbarton – were brought to churches in the kingdom's south. The kings of Cumbria may well have gained their power by guarding, on behalf of the dominant Scandinavian sealords, the routes of trade and raid on the Clyde and the Solway.

Certainly, the Cumbrian kings played a pivotal role in the centuries which followed. In time, they became clients of the Gaelic kings of Alba. Their last native king, Owein the Bald, fought alongside Mael Coluim II at the battle of Carham, when

Scotland's border at the Tweed was gained. But soon Owein died, leaving no heirs.

Cumbria became a sub-kingdom of Alba, sometimes given by the Scottish king to his heir to rule. The Scottish kings lost southern Cumbria in the late 11th century, reclaiming parts of it briefly in the 12th only to lose them again later, leaving the south-western border where it now stands.

And what of the Britons of Cumbria? How did their language, their culture and their identity fare after their last native king died? Certainly, we know that Cumbria retained its identity. It was as ruler of Cumbria that the king-to-be, David I, cut his teeth. As king, he addressed his subjects according to their differing backgrounds.

Cumbrians still stood out as a separate group. As late as the 13th century, the bishops of

Glasgow were claiming that their diocese encompassed all of the old kingdom of Cumbria.

The language and culture of the Britons of Cumbria was fading, though.

Soon, it was only to be found in names – Lanark, Glasgow, Partick, Renfrew, Paisley, Carlisle – and among shepherds counting their sheep on the Southern Uplands.

And now, most Scots are barely aware of the strong heritage they share with the Welsh... the heritage founded upon the Men of the North.



Bloody battles for the Rock

The Britons' history is full of warring kingdoms, stirring poetry and sieges of their great fortress on the Clyde

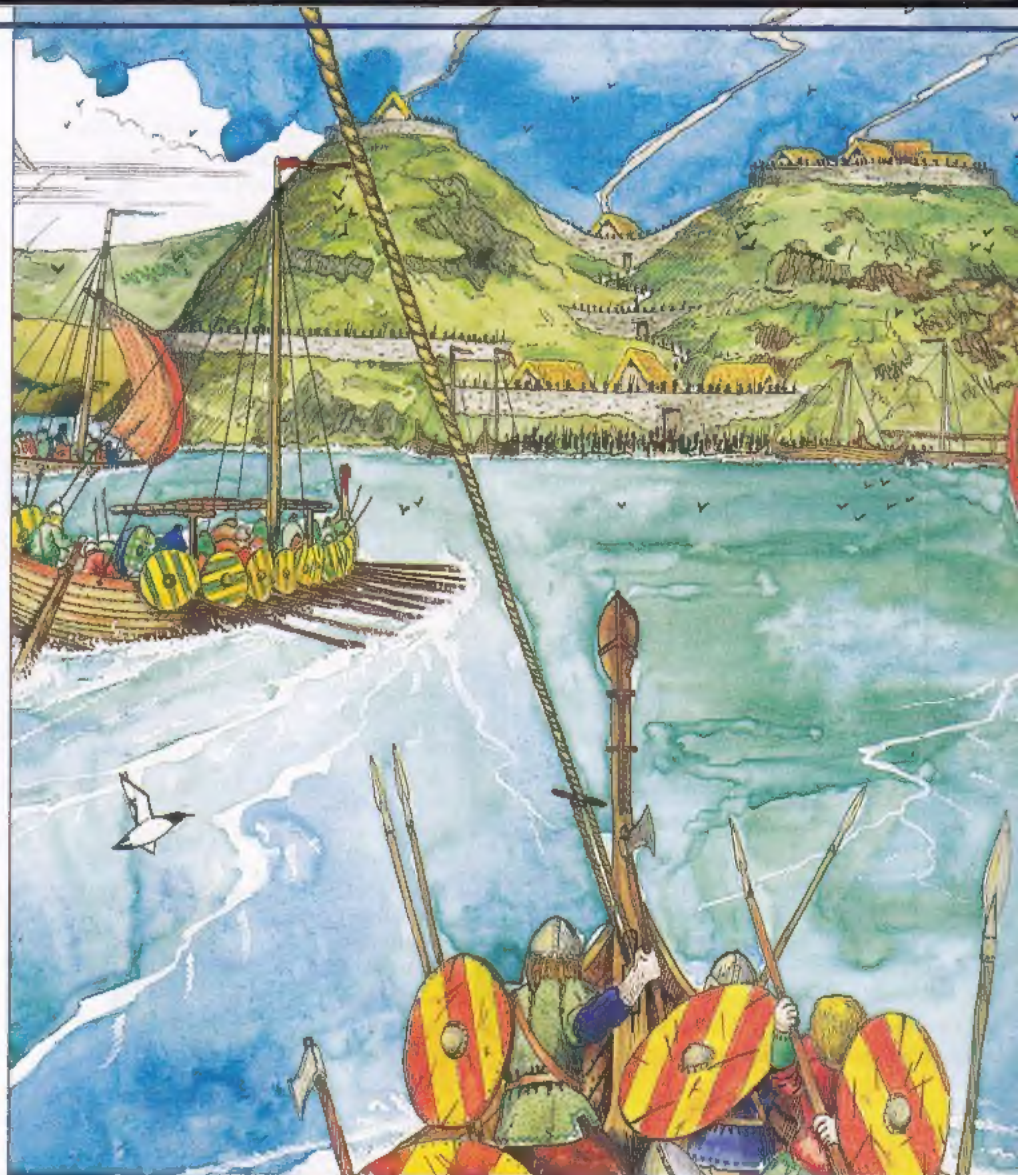
The Britons of Southern Scotland are perhaps best remembered as the Warrior Poets of the North. Their strong Welsh roots meant they praised their heroes and recorded their battles in glorious verse. And we can enjoy that legacy today because the poetry of the Britons, the earliest examples of both Welsh and Scottish verse, were copied into Welsh manuscripts in the Middle Ages.

As a nation the Britons' fortunes ebbed and flowed down the first ten centuries. At times they had total control. At others they were almost wiped out. Their history is full of warring kingdoms, bloody battles and sieges of their principal stronghold at Dumbarton Rock.

They seem both the first here and the first to go, the first of Scotland's people to fall under the 'English' domination of the Angles.

In the fifth century, when Roman rule in Britain collapsed, under the marauding pressure of Picts and Gaels from the north and west, and Germanic tribes from the east, Britain gradually became divided into many kingdoms, both small and large.

The rulers of these kingdoms profited from unsettled times by pillaging their neighbours, paying off a retinue of strongmen with the proceeds of theft and violence. Some of these kingdoms were taken over early on by some of the outside enemies of Britain. Sometimes the



■ Viking longships besieged Dumbarton Rock in 870 and the Britons fortress fell after four months.

native population was replaced in these new kingdoms, sometimes not. But without doubt the flight of Romanised Britons from southern Britain, and the observable differences even between them and the 'barbarian' incomers, meant that for the Britons of southern Scotland, Roman attributes were, ironically, more valued now the Romans were gone.

In the late fifth century and in the sixth, to be a Briton increasingly meant to bear a Roman-style name, like Padarn (from Paternus), or Dunawd (from Donatus), and to be Christian.

Southern Scotland was a puzzle of kingdoms and sub-kingdoms. Kings drew their strength from strong fortified dwellings. They ruled their kingdoms from Dumbarton Rock, or from Edinburgh's Castle Rock over the kingdom of the Gododdin in Lothian. The kingdom of Manaw straddled the Forth, from Falkirk to Clackmannan, and had its capital at Stirling, the fortress of Iudeu.

Other British kingdoms in the South East, such as Bernicia, with its capital at the rock of Bamburgh, were lost early on to the Angles, who throughout the late sixth and early seventh century ate away at the territory ruled by the British.

By around the year 750, the only one of the early British kingdoms still remaining was the kingdom of Dumbarton, the Rock of the Clyde. The fate of the Britons of southern Scotland

seems to be neatly encapsulated in an episode in 756, when the king of the Picts and the king of Northumbria brought the Rock of Dumbarton to submission.

What these Britons of southern Scotland have left us, however, is a vibrant record of their life and warfare in the poetry composed for kings and warriors. This is the earliest Welsh poetry, as well as some of the earliest poetry from Scotland, preserved because they were copied into Welsh manuscripts in the later middle ages. To the Welsh, the kings and warriors who performed the heroic deeds and sang these earliest songs of praise to "golden kings", were Gwyr y Gogledd, the Men of the North.

These first poets are celebrated in a ninth-century text: Then Talhaearn, Father of Poetic Inspiration, was famed in poetry; and Aneirin and Taliesin and Blwchfardd and Cian, known as the Wheat of Song, were all at the same time famed in British verse.

The wonderful poetry of Taliesin and Aneirin is still preserved for us. Taliesin sung the praises of Urien, ruler of the kingdom of Rheged, based around Carlisle but probably extending further north as well.

Urien became something of an overlord for all of the northern Britons. At the end of each poem, Taliesin sang: "And until I die, old, By death's strict demand, I shall not be joyful, Unless I praise



DINOAD'S COAT

Specked, specked, Dinogad's coat,
I fashioned it of pelts of stoat.
Twit, twit, a twittering,
I sang, and so eight slaves would sing.
When your daddy went off to hunt,
Spear on his shoulder, club in his hand,
He'd call the hounds so swift of foot:
'Giff, Gaff' - seek 'im, seek 'im; fetch, fetch.
He'd strike fish from a coracle
As a lion strikes a small animal.

When to the mountain your daddy would go,
He'd bring back a stag, a boar, a roe,
A speckled mountain grouse,
A fish from Derwenydd Falls.
Of those your daddy reached with his lance,
Whether a boar or a fox or a lynx,
None could escape unless it had wings.

■ This Briton cradle song, composed around 650, may be the earliest recorded poem by a woman.

all the British warband died attacking a vastly superior army of Angles, was celebrated and mourned by the poet Aneirin, in the oldest known Scottish poem Y Gododdin. He wrote:

Three hundred, gold-torqued, launched the assault,
Defending the land: there was slaughter.
Although they were being slain, they slew,
And till the world's end, they'll be honoured.
And of all those who went, companions,
Alas, save one man, none escaped.

In 870, Viking war-boats besieged the fortress of Dumbarton for four months. It was a summer of drought: their well dried up and the Rock of the Clyde fell. Within two years, the king of Dumbarton was assassinated.

Things looked bleak for the last British kingdom. Upheaval, power struggles, negotiations followed. Snatching victory from the jaws of defeat, by early in the next century there was a new kingdom in the north as the Britons of southern Scotland had one last, stunning swongsong in the vibrant and twilit 10th century kingdom of Strathclyde before vanishing from history.

For later Welsh men of learning, and indeed often for historians today, this image of glorious death and loss seems to sum up the Britons and their contribution to the history of Scotland. ●

Urien." He celebrated Urien's success against his fellow British kings, as well as his exploits against the Angles of Bernicia. In time, it would be his fellow British kings who would work his downfall: whilst besieging the Angles on the island of Lindisfarne, another British king, Morgant, had him assassinated, through his jealousy at Urien's prowess.

Another disaster occurred at the battle of Catraeth, now Catterick in Yorkshire, fought by a warband assembled at Edinburgh by the king of the Gododdin. The fierce battle, in which nearly

TIMELINE

79-411

The Brittonic tribes of the Damnonii, Novantae, Selgovae and Votadini who live in southern Scotland trade and form alliances with the Romans.

540-570

Aneirin the bard composes the oldest known Scottish poem, Y Gododdin. It records a disastrous raid by the Britons of Edinburgh against Angles.

590

King Urien of Rheged and King Rhydderch Hen of Dumbarton besiege the Angles at Lindisfarne. Urien is assassinated by his own side.

638

The Britons lose control of Edinburgh to the Angles.

756

Dumbarton submits to an alliance of Picts and Angles.

870

Vikings storm the fortress of Dumbarton - Alt Clut, the rock of the Clyde.



1018

Owein the Bald, the last king of the Strathclyde Britons, dies. The kingdom now becomes a sub-kingdom of the Kings of Alba.

Place names rooted in Welsh

Many place names in central and southern Scotland are derived from British, the language very close to Welsh which was spoken by the Northern Britons.

Glasgow, originally Glasgau, means the green hollow. Edinburgh first appears in Welsh sources as the fort of Din Eidyn. When the Bernicians took over they translated this into English as Edinburgh.

Other prominent places are:

Lanark - Lanerc: the clearing (Welsh - llanerch).

Peebles - Pebyl: the shielings (Welsh - pebyll).

Partick - Perthec: the copse (Welsh - perth): also the derivation of Perth.

Paisley - Pasaleg: a church word based on Basaleg, a Welsh borrowing from Latin - basilica, mother-church.

Penicuik - Pen y gog: cuckoo's headland.

Cramond - Caer Amond: the fort on the River Almond.

Moscow - Maes coll: Hazelfield (Welsh - maes and coll).

Bathgate - Baeddgoad: Boar-wood (Welsh - baedd and coed).

Melrose - Moelrose: the bald/bare headland.

Ecclefechan: perhaps the little church (Welsh - eglwys bechan).

Many river and stream names have British/Welsh origins, like the Clyde (Clud) and the Ayr (Aeron). Many of these British names simply mean river or water, like Avon and Esk, for instance. Others are compounded with a colour word: two neighbouring burns in Cunningham are the Glazert (Glas dwr: grey/green water) and the Lugton, originally Lug dwr - shining water.

Some river names have words in front that are recognisably Welsh, like aber, a rivermouth or confluence - Abercorn, Abermilk, Aberlady, Aberlask.

Govan's attracts

An amazing hoard of medieval treasures lies in the unusual setting of a Glasgow kirk not far from Ibrox stadium

It is easy to pass Govan Old Parish Church without suspecting the remarkable history that lies within. Near Ibrox football stadium, flanked by the Pearce Institute and the offices of a housing association, the church does not outwardly reflect antiquity.

It was built in 1820, but the land on which it stands has been used for Christian worship since the 9th century, when it was the Britons' major Christian centre. It is home to a collection of early carved stones that attracts archaeologists from all over the world. Long before the birth of Christ, this was a significant place.

Evidence has been found that Bronze Age people settled in Govan. It was then almost an island in the River Clyde, which could be reached by a ford.

It is not certain when the first church was built there, but the collection of sculpted stones spanning the 9th to 11th centuries suggests it was very early indeed.

In fact, they represent a major school of stone-carving, early Scottish works of art in an area that became part of Glasgow and better-known for shipbuilding, Glasgow Rangers Football Club and the television character Rab C Nesbitt.

One thing which encouraged this

craft in was the ready availability of sandstone in the Central Belt, which allowed the sculptors to make large memorials. The prize item is very large indeed, a sarcophagus more than two metres long and carved from a single block.

Unfortunately the lid has not been found, so when the richly-carved tomb was unearthed in the graveyard in 1855, it was immediately thought it must have housed the body of St Constantine, to whom the first church was dedicated. But there were many Constantines in Scottish history, and historians have never been sure which one to identify.

A stone table built to display the sarcophagus mentions a 6th century martyr, King Constantine. But because of the style of decoration it is now thought to belong to one of the 9th century Briton kings called Constantine. Clearly, though, a massive sarcophagus like this – only two have survived, and the other is in St Andrews – was meant to be seen and appreciated, and not buried.

It is possible that it lay before the altar of the original church, and a hole was drilled in the base of the shrine so that as the corpse decomposed, the resultant liquids could drain out.

Govan has four stone crosses



Inside Govan Old Parish Church lies a hoard of treasures.



hidden treasure world experts



■ The giant sarcophagus at Govan is the church's prize item, and the hunting scene carved on the side, right, indicates it was more likely to have been for a king rather than a cleric. Church elder Annie Perice (above right) acts as guide to the 31 medieval sculptures in the Govan collection.

compared with five at the much more famous Iona Abbey.

While the earliest gravestones in the churchyard are dated 1614, people have been buried there since 930. Yet this burial place is much less known than Glasgow's celebrated Necropolis, where many wealthy merchants were laid to rest.

Altogether, the Govan collection of

medieval sculptures comprises 31 items. They include crosses and slabs, carved with representations of strange serpent-like beasts, as well as human figures and interlace designs.

One incomplete stone which shows a donkey and rider is known as the cuddy stone.

There are also five hogbacks, hump-shaped blocks of stone which

once covered graves. Four of these are the largest and heaviest ever discovered. A pattern of roof-tiles has been carved into them, with usually a beast at either end.

Over the last century, 47 ancient stones have been recorded at Govan Old Parish Church. The tragic fact is that 16 of them are missing. Carved ten centuries ago and unearthed to

great excitement, their fate was to be lost again in the 1970s. During the demolition of the Harland & Woolf shipyard, debris was temporarily dumped in the church grounds.

It is thought that when this was being cleared, some of Govan's irreplaceable heritage was carted away with it. The final resting place of these carvings is unknown. ●

A pulpit graced by famous ministers

Govan Old Parish Church has enjoyed a succession of ministers who have brought recognition to the church and its famous collection of stones and relics.

In 1570, Andrew Melville – who was responsible for re-organising Glasgow University during his time as principal

there – was parish minister at Govan. It was the start of a tradition, and he was followed by four other men who were principals of the university and also parish ministers at Govan.

Another minister, Hugh Binning, bravely had a verbal punch-up with Oliver Cromwell when the English general was in Glasgow, and his 17th century works are

still read to this day.

William Thom was heavily involved in the migration of Scots to the United States and his so-called war sermons were sent to a friend at Princetown University. Some remain in the library to this day.

Celebrated 20th century churchman, George MacLeod, left the Govan pulpit to found the Iona Community.

New light on the Dark Ages

One of Europe's greatest libraries and some of its finest art were based in Scotland at a time we imagine is devoid of history

What are the Dark Ages?

The Dark Ages is an old name for the time period across Western Europe after 400 AD, following the fall of the Roman Empire when, as they thought, the light of Classical civilisation had gone out.

That was followed in the 11th century with the Middle Ages and then the Renaissance, when Classical knowledge was rediscovered.

Modern historians no longer divide European history up in such a Roman-centred fashion. They tend to stress the continuity through history.

After the Roman period comes the Early Medieval period, then the Medieval period from around 1100 to 1500, followed by the Early Modern and the Modern Era.

Was this age really dark?

No. The people who lived in Scotland were part of a civilised society well connected to cultural developments across Europe as far as Byzantium, now Istanbul, and traded across the Continent.

Through Christianity, they were plugged into the sources of learning and knowledge of the Roman world. Iona, off the West Coast of Scotland, held one of the great libraries of Western Europe. It produced some of the finest art in Europe in the Book of Kells.

The Gaels of Dal Riata, in Argyll, had a tax system, and kings such as Macbeth went on pilgrimage to Rome. Writing was only a small part of these people's cultures and some of the early peoples, including the Picts, have left us no written records at all.

The only reason this seems like a Dark Age is the lack of Scottish historical sources, many of which have been lost. Most of our early history comes from outside sources.

Most knowledge and skills were transmitted down through the generations by the spoken word. Since the greater part of this knowledge is lost, archaeology and fragmentary historical sources can only sketch in what was once a rich tapestry of cultures.

Who wrote these fragments down?

Most of the written sources came from Christian monks. Since they were an educated elite, and mostly concerned with the doings of other monks or kings, we know more about them than the rest of society, who were probably more concerned with their crops and each other than with who was their king.

Who were the peoples who made up Scotland?

From 300 to 500 AD the historical evidence starts to highlight the differing peoples who held lands

in Scotland. These were the Gaels in Argyll and Ulster, the Picts who held the rest of Scotland north of the Forth, and the Britons to the south of the Forth-Clyde line. They were to be joined in the 6th century by the Angles, invaders from southern Denmark, who conquered most of Southern Britain and the South-East of Scotland held by the Britons.

Not all the Angles went on to become English. Some, from their kingdom of Bernicia that straddled the Tweed valley, became Scots. Other invaders followed. In the 9th century the Norsemen, or Vikings, conquered Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles as well as Northern England and parts of Ireland.

The Norsemen intermarried, producing another set of invaders called the Norse Gaels, who – as well as holding the Hebrides – took Ayrshire and Galloway from the Britons. In the 12th century, the Normans appeared.

They had just conquered England in 1066 and places as far afield as Sicily and the Holy Land, but they never conquered Scotland. They came from Normandy in France as well as Flanders in modern Belgium and were invited to settle in Southern Scotland by King David I after 1117.

All of these peoples Picts, Britons, Gaels, Angles, Norse, Norse-Gael and Norman made up the rich broth that became the Scottish nation.

So when did we become Scots?

For some, the answer lies in our early medieval ancestors of the 6th century onwards, the ancient Picts and Gaels whose kingdoms formed the heart of the Scottish nation. Neither would have called

Melbrigda owns this brooch

The Hunterston brooch highlights the problem of identifying how the people of early medieval Scotland thought of themselves.

Runes inscribed on its reverse read: "Melbrigda owns this brooch."

No doubt he was just one of the owners of the brooch. His Gaelic name

means servant of Bride, indicating he was a follower of the Gael saint.

The use of Viking runes show he was probably from the Western Isles where a hybrid Norse and Gael culture had developed in the mid-9th century.

After the Hebrides had fallen under Norse control, the invaders settled,

intermarried and converted to Christianity in the 9th and 10th centuries. Perhaps Melbrigda was a product of this cultural blending.

The brooch, found in a rock cleft at Hunterston, Ayrshire, where it had been hidden, reveals the complexities of Dark Age identity.

It was probably made in



themselves Scots, as the Kingdom of the Scots wasn't created until around 900AD. The idea of a Scottish history, the story of a nation of people, emerged only in the late 13th century. Being Scottish is a cultural identity that has developed and changed over time, and more a matter of belief in what you are than who your ancestors were. Historically, the word Scots, or Scoti, was a Latin name for the Gaels of Dal Riata in Angl. That was applied to the 10th-century kingdom of Alba north of the Forth-Clyde line, made up of the Picts and Gaels. This was also known as Scotia, a label that was extended south over the old Brittonic, Gallowegian and Angle kingdoms and northward over the Western and Northern Isles. Slowly over time, the idea developed that the kingdom and the nation were the same thing, and the diverse peoples of Scotland came to see themselves as Scots.

What were these people like?

Kin, or family, was the mainstay of all the early medieval peoples, a system that finds an echo in the later clan system. If you weren't a slave you would be tied into one of the kin groups through marriage.

Skills such as medicine, law and poetry would be passed on through specific families, as was your position in society. Kings were hereditary and chosen from within a specific kin group that spanned four generations, rarely passing directly from father to son.

That is why it was important to know whose kin you were.

A king like Constantine mac Aed, was Constantine son of Aed.

In Pictland, it was possible that status could come through your mother.

Abbots, the heads of monasteries, operated on a similar system, as monks could marry at this time, though the practice was frowned upon. So Adomnan, the 9th Abbot of Iona and biographer of St Columba, the first Abbot, was actually his descendant.

The blood is strong?

It is still commonplace to hear that Scots blood runs in our veins: that there is a definitive national identity based upon the ancient Scottish race of the Celts or Gaels whose warriors founded the

Scottish nation by conquest.

It is an exclusive view of Scottish history in which those of us not blessed with a blood-pedigree dating back to the 6th century don't quite measure up.

Some people claim to be Picts, Gaels, even Vikings, which is all very glamorous. Strangely, you never hear anyone claiming to be a Welsh-speaking Briton or an Angle who speaks Old Scots.

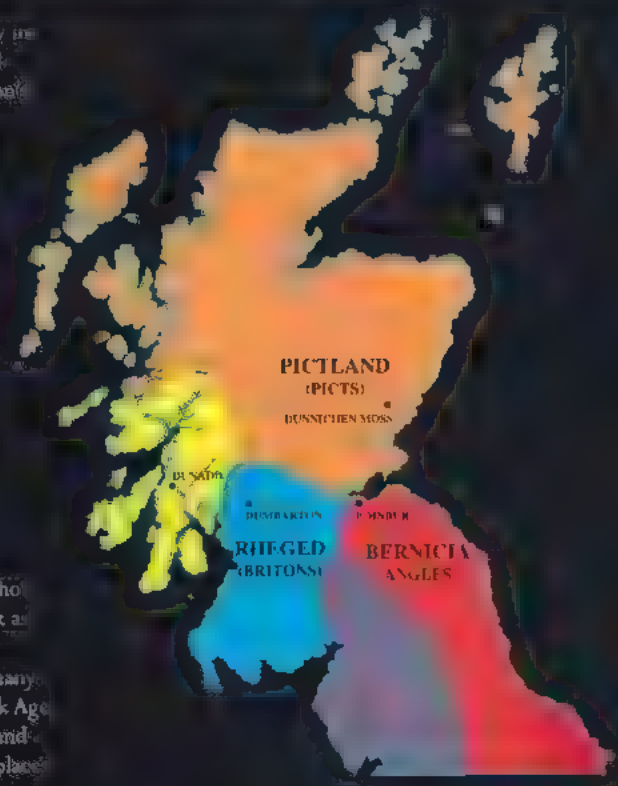
So while these ideas may stir the blood, they are unrealistic. Such views come from 19th century racial ideas more than any proper understanding of early Scotland.

For Scotland never was a nation like that. Even from the earliest times it was made up of a plethora of identities and peoples: Picts, Gaels, Angles, Britons and Norse, who lived, loved and inter-married just like us and who were, no doubt, as diverse in their outlook as Scots today.

Although identities change over time, many Scots today are descended from these Dark Age peoples, the Celtic tribes of the Iron Age and perhaps even the Neolithic inhabitants of places like Skara Brae.

The fact is that who we believe ourselves to be has nothing to do with blood or race but has everything to do with perceptions of Scotland's past.

It is time to take a good, hard look at these perceptions and see how new historical discoveries in 'Dark Age' Scottish history are changing cherished notions of who the Scots were and who we are now.



■ The Hunterston Brooch, below and left, can be seen in the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.



the 8th century Gael kingdom of Dal Riata, possibly at Dunadd, yet it was found in what was the Briton kingdom of Strathclyde.

Ayrshire and Galloway were invaded by Norse Gaels from the Western Isles and Ireland in the 9th and 10th centuries.

They soon settled, no

doubt mixing with the local Britons and bringing Gaelic culture.

This confusion of identities in just one object illustrates the cultural melting pot in which the Scottish nation was made.

The coming

If there has been one big idea in Scotland in the last 1,600 years, it has been Christianity. In its many forms it has shaped the nation since the beginning of our written history. But recent research discounts the long-held belief that the Gospel was brought here by missionaries



■ Early Christians founded settlements on remote Scottish islands – such as this one on Gravellachs, near Mull.

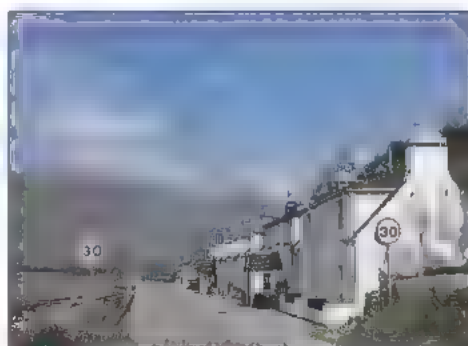
There is no evidence that anyone sent a mission to convert our pagan ancestors. Rather the Gospel seems to have seeped slowly into the lives of Britons, Picts and Gaels in a series of unplanned contacts. Roman soldiers, some of whom were Christian, made contact with the Britons of southern Scotland, and perhaps settled here on retirement. Sailors came to our shores carrying Christian ideas along with their Mediterranean pottery and their merchandise of wine and oil.

By the fifth century there were slave raiders, like the Irishmen who kidnapped the young Patrick from Britain. There were piratical kings such as Coroticus, whom the adult Patrick denounced for taking away Irish Christians as captives. All these movements, voluntary and forced, served to scatter Christian believers and disperse the seeds of faith around our islands. These fragmentary beginnings soon became more established.

Bishops were sent not to start new churches

from scratch, but to govern the scattered Christian community, and administer the sacraments – baptising and confirming, and ordaining clergy.

So Bishop Ninian – later revered as St Ninian – was not sent to Whithorn as a missionary but to



■ Applecross, in Wester Ross, where St Mael Rubha started an early Christian community

govern an existing church of Britons, probably in the mid 6th century.

Christians there had already left a carved stone bearing the prayer *Te Dominum Laudamus*.

Also in the South West, at Kirkmadrine, two bishops or sacerdotes – Viventius and Majorius – are remembered by name on a stone which may date back to 600 AD.

Christianity, then, was already known to the Picts in the 7th century. Excavations of a cemetery at St Andrews may also indicate this.

And churchmen such as Ethernán, who died among the Picts in 669, may have had a monastery at Kilrenny on the Fife coast.

Now, what about the Gaels and the role of Columba?

He is often credited, of course, with bringing the faith to Dál Riata, the kingdom roughly corresponding to modern Argyll.

But Columba did not come to western Scotland as a missionary. He came from a Christian and

of the Word



■ How the Victorians pictured Scotland's early saints. A detail from the Pageant of History frieze at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, in Edinburgh

Gaelic-speaking Ireland to a Christian and Gaelic-speaking Argyll.

Conall mac Comgaill was the king who gave Columba the island of Iona to found his monastery, in 563 AD. Would a pagan give away land for the foundation of a Christian settlement? Furthermore, Columba's successor and biographer, Adomnán mac Rónáin, nowhere suggests that Columba preached to convert the local Gaels. He came as a Christian monk and penitent to dwell among people who spoke his language and shared his faith.

Iona was not the only monastery in Gaelic Scotland. Other monks arrived at the same time or shortly afterwards, and indeed there was considerable rivalry between them. Moluoc of Lismore and Mael Rubha of Applecross, to name but two, were monastic founders who never belonged to Iona's jurisdiction.

It's possible that Columba made some missionary impact on Picts in the Inverness area,

but not likely. If Columba had had much success there, Adomnán would surely have told us. But apart from one or two minor stories of individual conversions, Adomnán is very quiet on the issue. The conversion of the northern Picts presumably happened a little later.

Among early Scottish Christians — Gaels, Britons and Picts — the faith was expressed in various ways. Baptism, of course, was the primary

■ Columba came as a monk and penitent to dwell among people who shared his faith

sign of coming to the faith. Christians went to Mass, celebrated in Latin. They confessed their sins and received penance. And we have other records of early spirituality.

A Latin prayer for protection is attributed to a certain Mugint, who is associated with 6th century Whithorn, and cobbles together several phrases

from the Latin Bible, as one would expect. It may have been said to avert the threat of plague:

*Spare, O Lord! Spare your people
Whom you, Christ, redeemed with your blood,
And do not be angry with us for ever*

Several early prayers were written as poems by Iona monks, reflecting on death and judgment, asking for protection, praising the Virgin Mary, and lamenting the death of Columba. Some were in Latin, others have survived in Gaelic and were used by lay folk as well.

Early Scottish writers believed they lived on the edge of the world, but the monks made sure they were completely immersed in the mainstream of European Christian theology. There was nothing marginal about them culturally, and Iona's library contained many Christian classics of the wider church. As well as the Vulgate Latin Bible, the monks had many of Jerome's commentaries on Biblical

In the steps of the saints

St Mungo, Glasgow Cathedral: St Mungo, meaning 'dear beloved' was originally known as Kentigern. He founded a church by the Molindar burn in Glascu, 'the green hollow', giving modern Glasgow its name. His shrine lies in the crypt of the cathedral. Legend says he was born to St Thenew, later renamed as St Enoch after whom the railway station and shopping centre are named.

St Conval, Inchinnan New Parish Church, Renfrewshire: Conval is said to have prayed with such power, that a block of granite known as 'St Conval's Chariot' - carried him across the Irish Sea and up the Clyde. The stone, which is part of a collection of Christian stones at the church, is said to heal humans and cattle

St Ethernan, Isle of May, Fife: Ethernan died among the Picts in 669. His grave on the Isle of May became a place of pilgrimage and the

site of a series of monastic buildings that can be seen today. Boats trips leave daily from Anstruther, May September.

St Mael Rubha, Isle of Maree, Loch Maree, Ross and Cromarty: Mael Rubha, founded an important monastery at Applecross. Later he is said to have lived as a hermit on the Isle of Maree in Loch Maree, where he is also reputed to be buried. However, Applecross village and Syre in Strathnaver also claim his grave.

St Machar, Aberdeen: Probably a local Pict, Machar saw the shape of a crozier in a bend of the River Don, leading him to found Aberdeen's first church. The city's cathedral is now dedicated to him.

St Cuthbert, Old Melrose, Roxburghshire: Cuthbert, a shepherd from Oxton joined the monastery of Old Melrose after a vision. The site of this monastery can best be seen from Scott's view on

the B6356, east of Melrose. Later Cuthbert went on to be Abbot of Lindisfarne in Northumbria. Melrose Abbey is now the starting point of the St Cuthbert's Way to Lindisfarne.

St Miren, Paisley Abbey:

St Miren was a noble Irish monk, who came to Scotland around 600 AD. His cult grew after his death, leading to the founding of Paisley Abbey in 1169AD. Its pilgrim chapel, created in 1499, has sculpted panels illustrating the life of the saint.

St Moluoc, Lismore island, Loch Linnhe, Argyll:

Legend says Moluoc cut off his finger and threw it ashore to beat St Columba to landfall. He founded a monastery on an island he called Lios Mor, meaning 'enclosure' or 'great garden'.

St Ninian, Whithorn, Wigtownshire: Ninian's Cathedral Priory, a museum and various excavated structures mark what was once an important pilgrimage site

St Ninian's Cave - possibly a devotional retreat used by St Ninian can be reached by parking at Kirdsdale, three miles south west of Whithorn, and walking one mile down the glen to the beach. To visit St Ninian Chapel on the Isle of Whithorn, follow the footpath to the headland

TIMELINE

Late 4th century AD

Roman soldiers and traders spread Christian ideas into Scotland.

550 AD

Bishop Ninian - later called St Ninian, comes to Whithorn. According to Bede, Ninian came to convert locals. But this was more to do with his claim of Angle jurisdiction over Whithorn.

563 AD

St Columba is given island of Iona for his monastery by Conall mac Comgaill king of Dal Riata in Argyll.

592 AD

Death of St Moluoc, who established a monastery on Lismore island, Argyll.

612 AD

The death of St Mungo the only secure fact we have on the career of Glasgow's saint,

651 AD

St Cuthbert enters Old Melrose monastery. Bede reports he went on a voyage to the Christian Picts of Fife.

642-722 AD

St Mael Rubha comes from Bangor in Ireland and founds a monastery at Applecross.



■ Lismore Island, north of Oban, site of a monastery founded by St Moluoc in the 6th century AD

Pagan sites and ideas were adopted by Scottish Christians

► books. They had works by Pope Gregory I, by Augustine and Athanasius. Iona writers quoted from them all. They also had reflections on monastic life by John Cassian and Sulpicius Severus, the lives of saints and much more.

We often hear talk of a Celtic Church as if it existed in isolation from the general Christian culture of Europe. There was no such thing as a Celtic Church. Christianity brought a deep sense of internationalism, of belonging to a network which crossed all national boundaries.

Rome was an important part of this world view, the mother church of Christendom. When Columba died in 597, one of his monks said of his preaching:

*Rome was known, order was known,
Knowledge of divinity was granted to him*

That is not to say that Scottish churchmen were subject to some centralised administrative Roman authority. But they saw themselves in communion

with an international church which looked toward the bishop of Rome as first among equals, a sign of the unity of all Christendom.

While the first Scottish believers shared their faith, sacraments, scripture and theological literature with the rest of the Christian world, they also had their own ways of doing things. The cult of saints meant that the great cosmic core of faith - Christ's victory over sin and death - was drawn into the intimacy of familiar local things. A local saint might belong to your family or tribal territory. He or she would become your patron, whose prayers would support you in this world and the next.

Through these saints, Christianity took on an intensely local texture at hundreds of tiny churches, holy wells, and sacred trees or groves, which became places of pilgrimage and prayer. Some might have been pre-Christian or pagan

sites re-invested with a new power by Christian faith. Other pagan ideas were incorporated into Scottish forms of Christianity.

There were fairies, for example, whose conversations with the saints were recorded. Lawyers sought to show that a lot of pre-Christian Gaelic law was in harmony with Christian belief and could still be observed. And poets, figures of enormous importance before the coming of the Gospel, learned to give glorious expression to the new faith in the ancient language of their art.

Through this synthesis of Christian faith and local culture, the church grew. Pastoral care was provided more and more widely, monasteries flourished and multiplied, political stability grew, and gradually the germinating seed put down roots which would eventually bind the whole country together. ●

Carving a place in history

How
Scotland's
mysterious
painted
warriors
defied the
might of
the Roman
Empire

The Picts arrived at the same time as the best-known and the least-known of Scotland's ancient peoples. Yet they were essentially Scottish. While all the other races – Britons, Gaels, Angles and Vikings – are shared with other nations, the Picts belong to Scotland alone.

They have become an apt symbol for Scottish national identity, too, because in fighting off the Romans and then the Angles, they represent that "Braveheart" spirit which was to be victorious at Bannockburn – defending the hardy northern nation from rapacious Southerners.

Their tangible legacy is the wealth of elaborately carved Pictish stones, like the famous Abernethy Cross, which are scattered across the country. These stones, which were carved between the sixth and eighth centuries in the south of Scotland, are the only ones of their kind in the British Isles.

which has been given the name of the Picts.



Woad painted 'savages' who embraced Christ

Caledon) and Schiehallion (Fairy Hill of Caledon) seemed fiercer and less civilised but they were not considered substantially different. In those early days the inhabitants of southern Britain were also woad painted savages.

As the centuries of Roman rule went by, however, things began to change. Whereas the south fell firmly under Roman rule, and its folk began to adopt Roman habits and tastes, the north firmly resisted. Strengthened by their mountain fastnesses, and led by great generals such as Calgacus 'the Swordsman' and Argentocoxos 'Silver-Leg', the Caledonian Britons prevented the Romans from gaining any permanent hold on the lands north of the Forth.

Thus a cultural difference arose between those Britons who were Romanised and those who dwelt beyond the northern frontier. In the north, warriors still painted their bodies blue with woad, a custom which had died out in the south.

The Romans called the northerners *Picti* – the Latin word for Painted Ones – while the half Roman, half Celtic population south of the Forth-Clyde line kept the name Britons.

Thus the Picts were born, around 250 AD, the last of the free peoples of the island of Britain.

By the time Roman power began to crumble in Britain (between about 380 and 410) the Picts had become entirely distinct from the other Britons. Their language had remained more old-fashioned and less affected by borrowings from Latin. We might compare the way in which the Doric Scots of the north-east and southern English grew apart in late medieval and early modern times – the southern dialects becoming much more affected by French. The Picts joined in the general barbarian onslaught on the Roman Empire which saw Huns, Goths and Franks taking over much of the Continent; and Gaels from Ireland, and Angles and Saxons from northern Germany, attacking Britain.

Many of these Pictish attacks were carried out by ship, and this led Gildas, the historian of the Britons, to refer to them as *transmarini* (people from overseas). This led later chroniclers into the mistaken belief that the Picts had come from abroad, like the Irish and the Saxons.

By this time the majority of the Britons were Christian and the fact that the Picts were still pagans made them seem even more savage in the eyes of their victims.

In reality they were simply out to get what they could from the wealthy landlords of Roman Britain, and hoards of Roman silver stolen during this period still turn up occasionally where Pictish warriors hid them for safe-keeping. The Picts

themselves lived a simple agricultural life and small scale warfare, little more than cattle rustling and a little slave hunting, was probably the normal occupation of farmers in the slow times of the agricultural year.

In an age without coin, folk counted their wealth in cattle, and slavery provided a little help on the farms. We should certainly not imagine that the Picts ran large scale slave plantations on the scale of some of their Roman contemporaries or the southern states of America before the Civil War.

By the year 550 the chaos surrounding the fall of Rome had slowed down. The eastern half of the island from the Forth southwards had become the territory of the Angles and Saxons, who were rapidly merging. In the west, the Britons still held out but gradually lost way to the Anglo-Saxons.

North of the Forth, the Picts seemed to have become more aware of their identity, perhaps seeing themselves more on a par with their new neighbours than they had done in Roman times.

It was probably in this period that they first started carving their curious symbols on to standing stones. At first they used only rough unworked stones, many of which had been set up long before in pre-Roman times. The distribution of these symbol stones is the best marker remaining today of the territory held by the Picts. They are found mostly in the east, from Fife to Shetland, with a handful in the northern Hebrides. The main concentrations are in Angus, around Inverurie, and in Easter Ross. These may have been the centres of regional chiefdoms or small kingdoms.

In the closing years of the sixth century the Picts began to show an interest in Christianity. This may have been linked to the transition from a tribal society to a more centralised kingdom, as it was in so much of Europe.

The Picts had Christian contact with both the Britons

in south-west Scotland (perhaps including Saint Ninian, who was based at Whithorn in Galloway) and with the Gaels who had settled in Argyll, including Saint Columba – although there were others.

Columba met Bridei son of Meilcuon, 'a most powerful king of the Picts', at his fortress near Inverness and engaged in a competition – miracles against magic – with the king's druids.

It is from this time onwards that the Picts began to move out of the shadows and become a truly historical people.

In the seventh century we hear far more about the Picts and their wars – first with the Gaels and later with the Angles of Bernicia (a country



■ Pictish symbol stones were used as territorial markers.



stretching from Linlithgow southward to Dumfries and Tyneside, centred on the lower Tweed).

During this period, two Pictish kings, Talorgan, son of Eanfirth, who ruled from 653 to 657, and Bridei, son of Bile, (672-93) had foreign fathers, leading to speculation that the Picts practised matriliney (inheritance through the female line). But in reality these cases seem to have been exceptions.

Eanfirth, an Anglian prince, had been in exile in Pictland and his son was almost certainly brought up by his mother's family, becoming adopted into their line.

Bridei's connections are less well understood, but we know that he was the son of a British king of Dumbarton and the cousin of Ecgfrith, king of Bernicia – which probably goes to show that royal families then, as now, were a mongrel race unto themselves. In fact, Bridei proved himself a loyal patriot despite his foreign ancestry. In 685, in the face of a major Bernician invasion, he defeated and slew his cousin Ecgfrith in battle at Dunnichen Moss, in Angus, and established the Picts as a major power in northern Britain. The carved stone in Aberlemno kirkyard may be a monument to this victory. In the years that followed the Battle of Dunnichen the Picts became full members of Christendom.

King Naiton son of Derle (706-29) was called a 'Philosopher king' by the Anglo-Saxon writer Bede, who knew him. He was literate and discussed theology with his bishops and with



TIMELINE

250 AD

The Picts appear in history for the first time.

450 – 550 AD

Christianity spreading to the southern Picts.

500 AD

Earliest Pictish symbol stones of rough stone, known as Class I stones.

565 AD

King Bridei (565-585) is visited by St Columba at Craig Phadraig, Inverness.

653 – 657 AD

Talorgan, son of Earnfrith, is king.

672 AD

The Pictish army is destroyed by the Angles, Bridei, son of Bili becomes King of the Picts for 21 years.

681 AD

Annals of Ulster records the Pict fortresses of Dundurn and Dunnottar under siege.

685 AD

Battle of Dunnichen Moss, the Angles are defeated by King Bridei.

710 AD

King Naiton (706-729) sends for details of Angles Christianity. Monasteries like Tarbat on the Dornoch Firth are founded and finely carved, Class II Pictish stones start to be created.

■ King Naiton presents a turt as a symbol of land to the Bishop of Rosemarkie, but within a few years he had thrown out the Columban clergy and brought in Angles. In the background stands finely-carved painted stones.

foreign churchmen, eventually retiring into a monastery

In his time the Picts also began to use dressed stone on which to inscribe their symbols, and often had a Christian cross on the reverse. King Unust, son of Urquhart (c. 611), was one of the greatest Pictish kings. In 740 he conquered the Gaels of Dal Riata. He also had notable successes against the Britons.

One Anglo-Saxon chronicler, noting his death in 761, said that he had been a "tyrannical butcher all his days". A biased foreign account perhaps, but one which shows how much contemporaries held him in awe. He was also the founder of St Andrews and the sarcophagus on display in the museum

there may have been built to hold his bones. From Unust's time onwards the Pictish kingdom seems to have been the strongest and most stable kingdom of northern Britain, particularly under King Constantine, son of Urquhart (789-820).



■ Dundurn, a fortified Pictish stronghold dominated Strathearn.

If you had told King Constantine that within a hundred years of his death the Picts would be all but forgotten, he would have laughed in your face. Nevertheless, within 25 years a Gael from the impoverished backwater of Dal Riata, Cináed son of Alpin (or Kenneth MacAlpine as the English would call him), had seized the Pictish throne – and his sons and grandsons would go on to dismantle the once great nation of the Picts.



Chains that link us to the past

A heritage set in stone

Pictish artists saved Scotland from what would have been one of the greatest losses in its history. If it wasn't for their work we would have no tangible legacy of a people's culture

The Picts and their language have long since vanished. No Pictish manuscripts have survived. Without the hundreds of beautiful and intriguing sculptured stones these people have left us, we might know very little about their culture or society.

The earliest of the carved stones date to about the 6th century when, with the introduction of Christianity, the Picts emerge on to the pages of the historical record.

But there is nothing explicitly Christian about the images incised on these first monuments. Instead the carvings are drawn from a remarkable set of designs, which appear again and again in the same highly standardised forms all over Pictland.

These designs are as unique as they are mysterious. They are known only in Pictland and there is nothing quite like them anywhere else.

In all, there are a little over 30 of these Pictish symbols. Almost a third are striking and stylised images of birds and animals.

These include creatures who inhabited the natural environment of Pictland – such as the stag, boar, horse, wolf, goose, eagle, salmon and adder – and creatures purely of the Pictish imagination (such as the strange symbol known descriptively, if jokingly, as the swimming elephant). There are also a few symbols which are faithful and detailed representations of everyday objects, such as mirrors and combs.

But most of the symbols are simple geometrical designs – the double-disc, the crescent-and-V-rod, the notched rectangle.

Scholars have displayed much ingenuity in trying to identify the actual objects which these geometric symbols might represent. None of their suggestions has been totally convincing – in

fact there is no guarantee the symbols are images of real objects at all. They might stand for purely abstract concepts.

What do the symbols mean? Despite decades of educated guessing we still have no clear idea though the theory that they represent Pictish personal names is distinctly possible.

Looking at the ways different symbols were combined on stone, it is clear there was a kind of syntax governing the statements.

We can see that the symbols functioned as a kind of specialised writing system. The Picts were far from illiterate. They used the same alphabet as we do for writing manuscripts – and, indeed, inscriptions using these letters have survived.

There are a rather larger number of inscriptions in a script called Ogham, invented in Ireland but adopted by the Picts. The Ogham

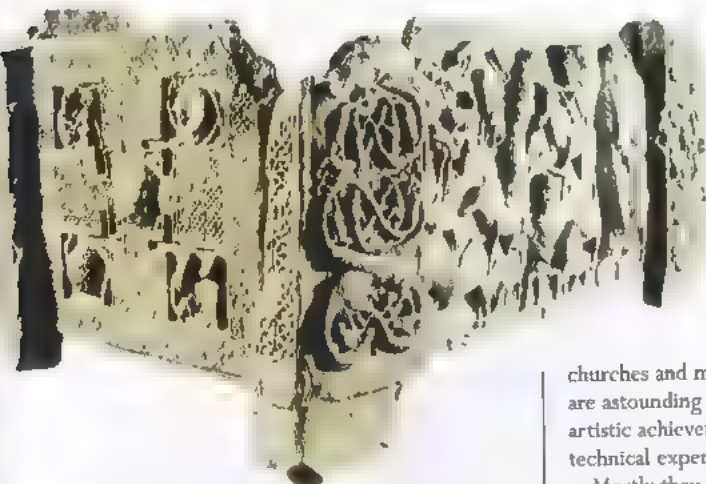


■ The Brandsbutt Stone, above, with a line of Ogham script, and the later Dupplin Cross, left, show developments in Pictish art.

alphabet has 20 letters, each consisting of a bundle of up to five parallel strokes placed above, below or across a central stem line.

Whatever their purpose, the symbols were clearly thought to be very useful. They can't have been too closely linked with the old pagan Celtic religion, because devout Christian Picts of later centuries were happy to continue carving the old symbols on their cross-slabs. Perhaps it is better to think of the symbols as religiously neutral, or secular images (which would fit the name theory).

The stones on which the symbols were carved were rough, unshaped boulders, set upright in prominent positions in the landscape. Some may have marked boundaries, or stood claim to



■ The St Andrew's sarcophagus, dating from late 8th century, may have contained the bones of perhaps Picts' greatest king, Unust.

designs. They were given a technical boost when masons brought in from Northumbria around 710 by the Pictish king Nalton son of Derile taught them new skills in cutting and dressing stone. From here there was no looking back.

Throughout the 8th and 9th centuries Pictish kings and powerful noble families poured their wealth into production of magnificent monuments at

churches and monasteries. The sculptures created are astounding works of artistic achievement and technical expertise.

Mostly they are large upright slabs of dressed stone, usually dominated on one face by the Christian cross. Often the reverse faces are carved with a rich assortment of fabulous animals, Biblical scenes or depictions of the life of the Pictish elite.

More than 60 of these cross slabs survive today, and they constitute our major source of information about Pictish culture and society. They speak eloquently of the Christian faith of the Picts and their hope of salvation.

The violence which was an ever-present element of contemporary society is reflected on the stones by the dark visions of Hell: grotesque monsters devouring themselves and one another, while others gnaw on dismembered human limbs.

Balancing these depictions of evil are scenes from the Bible, especially the Old Testament including Samson and Delilah, Daniel in the Lions' Den and Jonah and the Whale.

Pictish kings looked to the model of the Biblical King David. He is represented on the Dupplin Cross and the St Andrews Sarcophagus, which date to the second half of the eighth century or early ninth. The Dupplin Cross is unusual, being a free-standing cross, rather than a rectangular

slab with a cross carved on it. It bears the name of the Pictish king Constantine, who died in 820.

The sarcophagus is a composite stone shrine, which would have housed the bones of a great and revered figure, perhaps Constantine's mighty predecessor Unust, who died in 761.

One of the remarkable features of Pictish sculpture, something which sets it apart from contemporary sculpture elsewhere in the British Isles, is the wealth of secular imagery depicted.

We see the Pictish elite engaged in the noble pursuits of hunting and war. From this we learn about Pictish battle tactics, about the skill of the Picts in breeding and training horses, and we see detailed depictions of clothing and weaponry.

The stones reflect the male world of warriors and holy men, but there are remarkable images of women (exceptional for Europe in this period).

At Hilton of Cadboll, we see a Pictish noblewoman riding side-saddle on a stag hunt. Elsewhere a woman is depicted sitting at her loom.

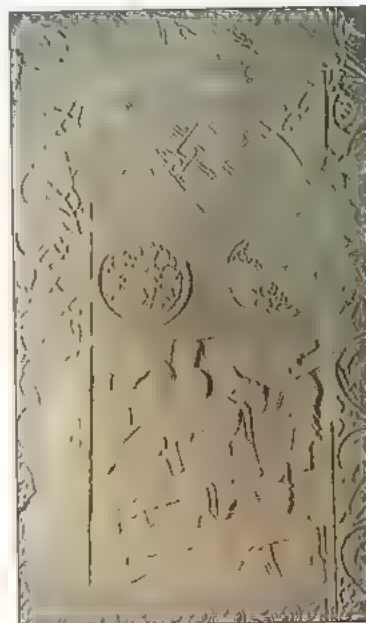
Another important feature of later Pictish sculpture is the wealth of geometric patterns. The spirals, key patterns and dizzyingly complex interlace appear in greater variety in Pictland than anywhere else in the British Isles.

They are part of an international art style shared throughout the British Isles at this time – hence the label 'Insular', a fusion of elements from all the regions.

The Book of Kells is the most famous product of the Insular style. This de luxe Bible manuscript was produced on Iona, outside Pictland, but incorporates features which are of Pictish origin.

Pictish artists were not isolated. They were open to influences direct from England, Ireland and Gaul, and more indirectly from the Mediterranean world, including Byzantium.

Motifs, styles and ideas were transmitted in manuscripts, on textiles, carved ivories and wood, and on precious metalwork. Most have long since perished, but the sculptured stones stand as eloquent testimony to what has been lost.



■ Perhaps the earliest portrait of a woman in Scotland – carved on the Hilton of Cadboll stone.

ownership of land. Archaeologists are becoming more aware of the association between symbol stones and burials, including Christian burial.

Symbol stones are found throughout the old Pictland (there are almost 200 in all) but there are particular concentrations in Angus, central Aberdeenshire and around the Moray Firth.

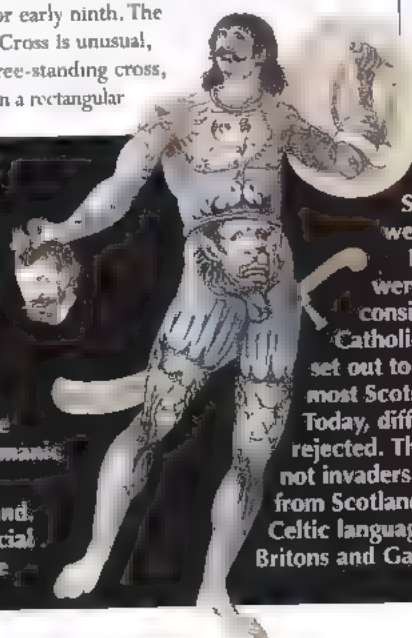
The symbols were not confined to stones. They have also been found on small portable objects, including jewellery, and there is ancient symbol graffiti in caves along the Fife coast and elsewhere.

Symbols were not the only things Picts carved in this early period. There are menacing human figures on stone. The best known of these is the mysterious and formidable Rhynie Man, who wears strange headgear, carries a battle axe over his shoulder and bares his pointed teeth.

Then there is the unique series of small stone bull plaques found in the last century in the harbour at Burghead, Moray.

Often overlooked are the numerous small and simple cross-incised slabs of the period. These provide important evidence for the spread of Christianity among the Picts and for the presence of the new religion – not just in the centres of wealth and power but in out-of-the-way places among the ordinary people.

Early Pictish stone-carvers were masters of the incised line, but until the beginning of the 8th century they had been limited to using more or less unshaped stones and carving only two-dimensional



THE POLITICS OF THE PICTS

The Picts have been problematic for history. None of their written records have survived so it's been easy to see them as mysterious or barbaric. Even their name, the Picts – was a Latin word which conveyed the Roman view of them as savage barbarians – i.e. not Romans. However, the Picts were just as civilised as their opposition.

• Nineteenth century historical debate raged over the origin and of the Picts. Some believed they were Germanic in origin. Others that they were Celtic.

• An obscure debate but an important one for Scotland. The 19th century was the age of racial science. In racial theory if the Picts, the largest population of Dark Age

Scotland, were Germanic then most Scots were just like the English.

However, if they were Celts then they were like the Irish. For some Irishness was considered 'uncivilised' and equated with Catholicism and radical violence. Some theorists set out to prove the Germanic origin of the Picts – most Scots would be like the 'civilised' English. Today, different racial origin ideas have been rejected. The evidence suggests that the Picts were not invaders from Germany or Ireland but descended from Scotland's own Neolithic farmers. They spoke a Celtic language so culturally they were similar to the Britons and Gaels.

We gained farm breeds but lost many creatures great and small

It took centuries for Scotland's first farmers to tame animals for domestic use. Meanwhile, other creatures were slowly being forced into extinction

When the first farmers began to work the soil in Scotland the forests were alive with the kind of wild animals we recognise in today's farm fields – wild cattle, wild horses, wild pigs, wild sheep and wild goats. But those large and lusty beasts on our farms today are the result of centuries of breeding to maximise yields of wool and meat. Although they bear an obvious resemblance to their far-distant wild cousins of 4,000 years ago, they are giants in comparison.

No one can say for certain when sheep and cattle were first tamed, but across the world the same process took place: cattle to serve as draught animals and as a food supply, while sheep and goats for their wool and meat have proved two of the most useful animals known to man.

The early sheep would have looked similar to some of those we now call rare breeds such as the Jacob, with its long horns and shaggy dark coat, or the distinctive Soays from St Kilda where the speed of change was slowed down. The Scottish blackface, for example, came from the Pyrenees and possibly even central Asia.

It is difficult for archaeologists to tell from bone finds what were sheep or goats, but excavated sites of this period show that along with cattle, pigs, dogs and horses were present in the early farming communities.

In those beginning days horses were probably more donkey like, and the Mongolian (Przewalski's) Wild Horse at the Highland Wildlife Park near Kingussie gives an indication of how these ancient animals might have looked.

Not all farm animals were domesticated

locally, of course. It was a long process and the first were probably introduced to Scotland between 4,500 and 3,000 BC by early settlers from the Baltic or Mediterranean areas. The world's first farmers were thought to be in Egypt around 8,000 BC and slowly farming began to spread outwards.

Down on the Neolithic farm the animals were used for their different purposes. Horses were transport and carriers, oxen hauled the primitive wooden ard – the first plough – to break up the ground for planting barley, wheat and oats. In a sense, it also made life more difficult for the farmers because up to 50 per cent of the cultivated ground had to be used to feed the animals. It was then the first farmers encountered the first farming economics.

Dogs were used for hunting, but the remains of cats found in Orkney, dating from this period, could have been the first pets. More likely, they were just

another useful farm animal to keep down the mice population. What we do know is that from time to time all of them were eaten.

The development of farming was bad news for the other wild creatures. As forests were leveled for crops or grazing the animals whose natural habitat was woodland began to be pressured.

To protect their stock from some of the fierce carnivores that roamed at large the new farming folk began to target the main threats for destruction. Suddenly Man was the chief predator and he began to obliterate whole species from Scotland.

A few of these species continue to survive in other countries, but some have vanished from the face of

the earth. In those beginning days, beaver were commonplace in Scottish lochs. Beaver pelts were much sought after centuries before fashion houses put the species further at risk. In Scotland the last of the beaver disappeared around the 15th or 16th centuries.

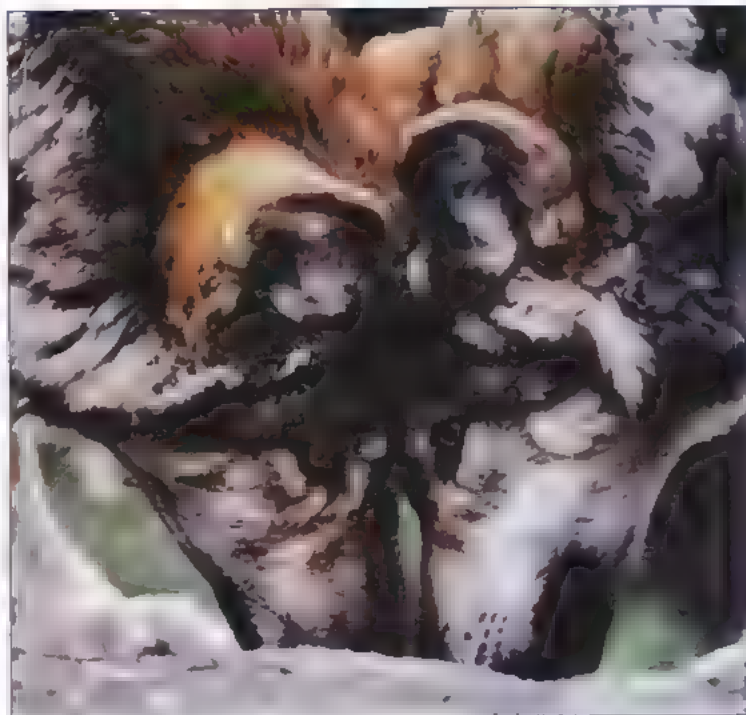
The great urus or auroch, a wild ox measuring 1.8 metres at the shoulder, grazed peacefully in prehistoric Scotland, although it survived in Europe as late as the 16th century.

The great brown Caledonian bear was a prized capture by Romans for its ferocity in the



■ The great auk, or garefowl, was eaten into extinction by the middle of the 18th century.





■ Gone from Scotland... but the wolf and bear, which were once common here, have survived in other countries. Now there is debate about reintroducing some species to Scotland's remote areas.



■ The enormous Irish elk, which once roamed Scotland's vast forests, died out around 1300.

arena and was shipped from Scotland in iron cages. Bear baiting and performing bears were once cruelly all part of the entertainment scene and it is recorded how the Roman offender Laurcolus was forced to present his naked body to the Caledonian bear as his punishment.

Wild boar were hunted to extinction in Scotland and later pig-sticking with lances by Scottish kings and nobles was a favoured recreation. Wild boar lasted in Scotland until the 17th century.

The giant Irish elk or moose roamed our countryside probably before man arrived. It was not really an elk but a huge fallow deer, with a giant spread of broad antlers and was the largest deer of its kind in Britain. Hunting and the destruction of the forests caused its disappearance around 1300.

Herds of wild horses were once plentiful in Lowland Scotland and today's distinctive Highland ponies will still have the blood of their indigenous cousins in their veins, diluted as it will be by the blood of Norse stock.

Reindeer were also once plentiful and probably lasted well into the 12th century. The species were experimentally reintroduced to the Cairngorms in the 1950s and have thrived.

The cause of the disappearance of the lynx from Scotland in prehistoric times remains a mystery because its woodland habitat was in abundance and neolithic man was hardly so numerous as to be a threat. Whatever the reason, the lynx in Scotland flourished then vanished.

The common enemy was the wolf. There were thousands, roaming in packs, seizing a cow or a sheep

whenever an opportunity presented itself. It became public enemy No. 1 and was the most persecuted of all animals. Even myths of demonology were laid at its door. The last wolf was killed in the mid 18th century.

Birds fared better than animals in the early years after the ice had gone, but the removal of some from Scottish skies or seas was only delayed and came centuries later.

The great auk or garefowl was eaten literally into extinction. Once living in large colonies, this cumbersome, flightless, white-breasted seabird was easy game for hunters who valued it as a source of food and oil for light. First eaten by the neolithic villagers of Skara Brae in Orkney, it was seen last on St Kilda in the mid 18th century.

Those early farmers would have been familiar with the white-tailed or sea eagle, kites, ospreys, goshawks and that great turkey of the pine forests, the capercaillie.

All these birds vanished.

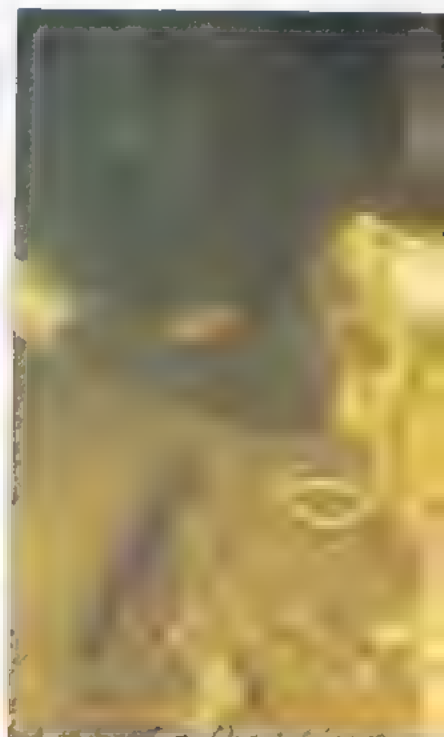
Some are making a comeback or have been reintroduced, others are fighting again for their existence second time around. Many birds of prey were hunted to the point of extinction in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Of the big birds of prey, only the lazy soarings of the golden eagle have remained, but in substantially decreased numbers.

Some of our vanished creatures are on the edge of a comeback – the beaver, the bear and even the wolf.

If they do return to share the environment with modern Scots no doubt it will prove as challenging as it was with our Neolithic ancestors 4,000 years ago.



■ The disappearance of the lynx from the woodlands of Scotland remains a mystery.



■ Left: Underwater detective at work logging samples of crannog piles on a lochbed. Centre: A submarine vacuum cleaner gathers evidence for later sifting.

Vital clues are

When a crime is reported, the detective's first task is to carefully examine the scene. When an archaeological find is made, often when new buildings or roads are being constructed, the archaeologist's first task likewise is to examine the site for evidence.

The police restrict access to a crime scene to stop evidence being disturbed or contaminated. This is less important for the archaeologist, as most of the scene is likely to be buried in the soil, but heavy vehicles and diggers can cause severe damage.

Finds made may make it possible to establish what sort of site is under the soil. Stone slabs or certain types of pottery may indicate a human burial from the Bronze Age, 3,000 or 4,000 years ago, while small flints, with evidence of human workmanship may indicate a settlement from the Mesolithic Period, more than 6,000 years ago.

On dry terrestrial sites, most finds are inorganic objects, like pottery and stone, or modified organic material like charcoal or burnt bone. Almost all the natural organic materials have rotted away. On wet sites, however, organic materials can be superbly preserved and submerged crannogs in cold, dark, peaty Scottish lochs have been

discovered with many of the supporting timbers, floors

■ Three hazelnuts and an acorn preserved in Loch Tay silt after 2,500 years.



The job of archaeologists is in many ways like that of police detectives. And sometimes the best evidence is to be found underwater

and walls intact. Bracken, ferns and other plant remains are found on the floors in a state almost exactly as when they were laid down thousands of years ago. Nuts, berries, seeds, textiles and even loafs of bread can all be preserved underwater, giving a fantastically clear picture of life in the past.

The policeman may build a picture of what happened from a cigarette end, a spent cartridge case or a newly disturbed area of soil in a quiet wood. The archaeologist lays out areas to be excavated and carefully, layer by layer, the soil is removed, often using trowels or dental tools for delicacy. Every piece of pot, bone or charcoal is recorded and the spoil that is removed is sieved for other tiny man-made objects such as beads, or seeds and other plant remains.

All finds from a site are examined minutely and considered in conjunction with the recorded plans and information about the site.

Just as the detective will send off a cartridge case to establish the sort of gun it came from, or the cigarette end to find out what the criminal smoked, the archaeologist sends many finds to specialists to discover more about what was going on in the past. A specialist can tell by its form, fabric and

decoration what period a piece of pottery came from. For example, Beaker pots and Food Vessels are two types distinctive of the Bronze Age while D ware and E ware are characteristic of the Dark Ages about 600 AD. Styles of pottery from all times and all parts of the world have been catalogued.

Ceramic moulds for making metal tools can be identified, and the shape or type of tool can be established. Again, there is a well-established catalogue that can tell what a tool was used for and where and when it was made.

Of course, there are blanks in all reference collections and it is essential that the records of a site are widely broadcast so that they can be filed, which is why academic journals are so important. Some of the most interesting discoveries come to light in the laboratory through microscopic examination of tiny plant or animal remains.

In recent years even the ash from volcanoes around the world has been identified from archaeological sites in Scotland and a new speciality, tephrochronology, is being developed.

There are many ways of establishing the date of an event, but it is seldom possible to achieve accuracy to the minute, hour, day or even the



Right: Back on land, a time detective makes a microscopic examination of timber samples kept in a laboratory tank to prevent drying out and possible decay.

safe and wet

century in some cases. With organic remains, radiocarbon dating, which requires the use of a nuclear reactor, can be accurate to within 50 years.

While this may not be good enough for Inspector Morse, it is a great contribution to knowledge about a site which may be thousands of years old. It can take three months for the date to be calculated and will cost from £300.

One of the most accurate methods of dating ancient sites is to use dendrochronology. This involves matching the pattern of thick and thin tree rings in a timber with other samples going back earlier and earlier in time.

In Switzerland, work on the lake dwellings where there are many trees preserved is allowing the archaeologist to date houses which may be two or three thousand years old to within a few months. Big trees with lots of rings are required, and it is not yet possible to do this in Scotland.

Thermoluminescence is used to date ceramics. Again, it is highly scientific and has an error margin of about 10 per cent.

The dating laboratories are like the forensic specialists used by the police. The scientists need know nothing about the site that is being dated, and the archaeologist need know little about the methods employed by the scientist, but together they are able to build a picture of the past.

Pollen grains, which are very tough, are often found on archaeological sites, blown

there by the wind, washed in by water or brought in by the local inhabitants. Pollen from different plant can tell what was going on in a settlement.

For example, pollen of a type of wheat, *Triticum Spelta* or spelt wheat, was discovered by a pollen analyst at London University in a sample taken from the submerged 2,500-year-old site of Oakbank Crannog in Loch Tay. This is the earliest occurrence of this type of wheat in Scotland. It had been thought the Romans brought it here by 500 years

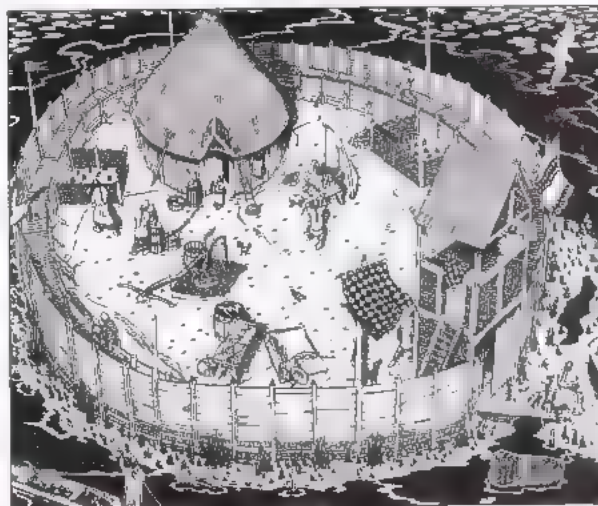
later. From the same site a botanist from Glasgow University identified seeds of the opium poppy. The poppy and the wheat do not grow naturally in Scotland and are good indicators of trade between the Iron Age people of Loch Tay and those outside.

Animal bones can tell a great deal about farming and hunting practices, and the diet of the people. Occasionally human bones are found and give important information about the people themselves.

The bones of a small rodent were excavated from the submerged floor layers of a 2,000-year-old island dun in Loch Bharabhat, Lewis. A bone specialist in the Department of Archaeology at Edinburgh University compared the skull to her reference collection and narrowed the type down to one of two. Final identification required the removal of one of the tiny molars from the jaw and when this was done the three holes where the roots fitted into the jaw showed that it was a wood mouse.

Pollen analysts, botanists, pottery and metalwork specialists are among the most commonly used experts in archaeology but often finds are not easily recognised.

A grey, shiny material was discovered sticking to a wooden dish excavated from Oakbank Crannog. A scientist from the Hannah Research Institute, once part of the Milk Marketing Board in Scotland, identified the material as butter. Information about the polyunsaturates and other fats in the sample showed clearly that it was Iron Age butter, and not margarine.



■ An artist's reconstruction of a 6th century loch dwelling at Kilmaurs, Ayrshire, the subject of recent underwater excavation.

A skill born in deadly battle

On a Saturday in August, a colourful little bird roosts high on the tower of Kilwinning Abbey. This is the papingo. Down below, people gather with bows and arrows and start to shoot at the harmless creature

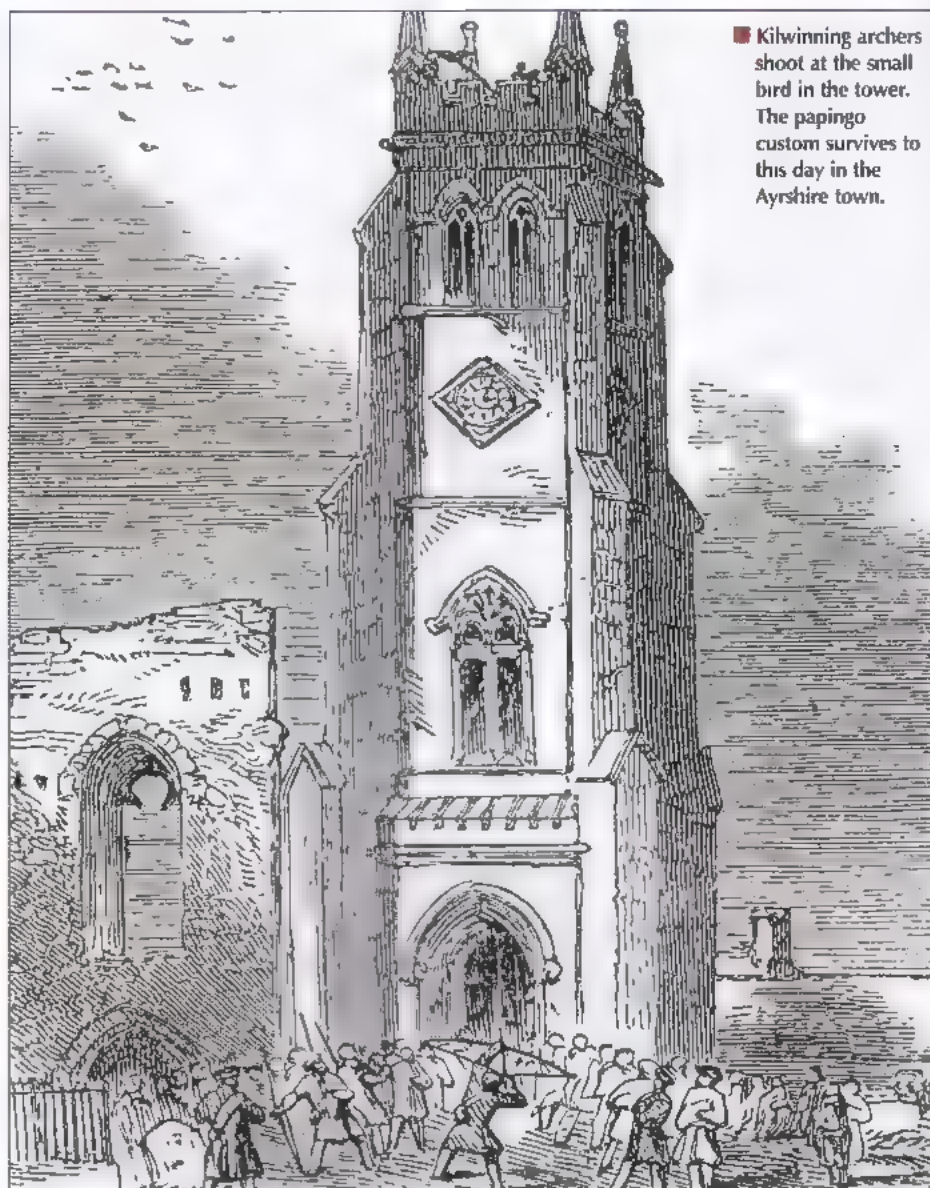
Yes, this still happens every year in the Ayrshire town. It sounds like communal madness and maybe even illegal but it's also a local custom which has, happily enough, survived for at least three centuries.

Fortunately the papingo, the old Scots word for parrot, is a wooden effigy. But what we see at Kilwinning is an activity that links us to the time when bows and arrows were not the hi-tech sporting gear of today but weapons of war.

King James IV of Scotland was killed by an arrow at Flodden in 1513. Archers could win battles, so target practice was not only essential but demanded by law, and the Kilwinning papingo shoot is a sporting occasion which has developed from this tradition.

Scottish archers may not have had the terrifying reputation of the English bowmen, but there is evidence that bows and arrows were used here by hunters from prehistoric times. In Asia around 2,000 BC, the first composite bows were being made of horn, animal sinew and wood, coated with lacquer. Although made for killing, these are forerunners of the modern sporting bow, which is constructed from hardwood bonded to glass fibre.

In the 17th century, firearms started to replace the bow on the battlefield. The longbow continued to be used by Highlanders in some of their clan wars, but the writing was on the wall and archery gradually eased itself into the realm of sport. Incredibly, Scottish and English bowmen met for a friendly match in St Andrews in 1534. This was only a couple of decades after Flodden, when English arrows took such a



■ Kilwinning archers shoot at the small bird in the tower. The papingo custom survives to this day in the Ayrshire town.

deadly toll of the Scots army. On this occasion, the prize was a hundred crowns and a tun of wine and, believe it or not, the Scots won.

Once it was no longer compulsory to practice archery, the skill seemed to catch people's imagination. Local competitions were started in many Scottish towns, and the oldest prize to survive is the Musselburgh Arrow, first awarded in 1603. Many of the original prizes for archery have been lost, but some have had charmed lives.

The Peebles arrow was won in 1666 by a chap called James Lyntown, who returned it next year in a damaged condition. The town councillors were so annoyed by this that they recorded the fact in their burgh records. Then the arrow went missing for about a century, and came to light again when the council offices were being demolished in 1780. It had probably been hidden for safety during the spell of religious troubles. In Edinburgh, the Royal

Company of Archers was set up in 1676. There were Jacobite tendencies among the early members, so the Company tended to keep its head down during the '15 and '45 risings. But with the Scottish visit by George IV in 1822, the Royal Company offered its services as the king's bodyguard. This was accepted, and the members have carried out these duties for successive British monarchs.

The Company are the great and the good from Scottish nobility, but they are not beyond criticism. In 1703, they started shooting for what was known as the Goose Prize. A live goose was tethered in the butts so that only its head was showing, and the archers fired at it from short range.

Traditionally, the captain general was allowed to win the grisly competition, and the noble bowmen must have been relieved when the practice was discontinued.

That figures...

the size of the Roman army that invaded Scotland under Emperor Septimus Severus in 209AD.

45

the number of ministers who walked out of the Church of Scotland in the Disruption of 1843.

The field of tears where Charlie's hopes died

How the Battle of Culloden became front page news

The ambitions of Prince Charles Edward Stewart perished in the mist and rain of Drumossie Moore, near Inverness, on April 16, 1746. The Duke of Cumberland's army butchered the Jacobite army and ended the hope of a Stewart restoration to the throne of Great Britain. News of the Battle of Culloden quickly spread throughout Scotland and England.

The official report by the Duke of Cumberland was printed in *The Caledonian Mercury* of May 1, 1746. The Edinburgh newspaper also carried a list of "Rebel Officers" held at Inverness, and the ordnance captured during and after the battle. It included 2,320 firelocks, 190 broadswords and blades, five barrels of powder, and 22 ammunition carts.

Here, in part, is what *The Caledonian Mercury's* readers were told.

On the 15th the Rebels burnt the... which convinced us of the... to stand an Engagement with... Troops. We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched from thence, between 4 and 5, in four columns.

After we had marched about eight miles, our advanced Guard perceived the Rebels at some distance. After reconnoitering their situation we found them posted behind some old walls and huts, in a line with Culloden House. As we thought our right entirely secure, Gen Hawley and Gen. Bland went to the left with the two Regiments of Dragoons, and Nairn's Horse were ordered to the Reserve.

The ten pieces of Cannon were disposed, and most of our Highlanders were left to guard the baggage.

When we were advanced within 500 yards of the Rebels, we found the Morass upon our right was ended, which left our right flank quite uncovered; his R. Highness immediately ordered Kingston's Horse from

the Reserve, and a Squadron of about 60 of Cobham's to cover our flank, and Pulteney's Regiment was ordered from the Reserve to the Right of the Royals.

His R. Highness sent Lord Bury forward within 100 yards of the Rebels to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a battery to us, they began firing their cannon. Ours immediately answer'd them, which began their confusion.

They came running on in their wild manner within 100 yards of our men, firing pistols and brandishing swords but the Squadrons on our right were sent to pursue them. As their whole first line came down to attack at once, their right somewhat out flanked Barrel's Regiment and the greatest part of the loss we sustained was there, but Bligh's and Sempil's giving a Fire upon those who had out-flanked Barrel's, soon repulsed them.

The Cavalry, which had charged from the right and left, met in the center, except two Squadrons of Dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone

The Caledonian Mercury Num. 3987
Edinburgh, Thursday, May 1, 1746.
From the London Gazette, April 25.

On Tuesday the 16th the Rebels burnt the... which convinced us of the... to stand an Engagement with... Troops. We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched from thence, between 4 and 5, in four columns.

In Pursuit of the Runaways Lord Ancrum was ordered to pursue with the Horse as far as he could, and did it with so good effect that a considerable number was killed in the pursuit.

As we were in our march to Inverness, Major Gen. Bland sent the annexed Papers, which he received from the French Officers and Soldiers surrendering themselves Prisoners to his R. Highness Major Gen Bland also made great slaughter, and took about 50 French Officers and Soldiers prisoners in his pursuit.

By the best calculation 'tis thought the Rebels lost 2000 men. We have here 222 French, and 326 Rebel Prisoners.

'Tis said Lord Perth, Lord Nairn, Lochiel, Keppoch and Appin Stuart are also killed. All their Artillery and Ammunition were taken, as well as the Pretender's and all their Baggage. There were also 12 Colours taken.

The kill'd, wounded, and missing of the King's Troops amount to above 300. The Rebels, by their own accounts, make their loss greater by 2000 than we have stated it.

■ A lone flag flies in the wind on Culloden field.



That figures...

7,295 kilometres in 72 days was the distance run across Canada in 1991 by Al Howie of Ardrossan, Ayrshire.

UK's lowest total of votes cast for the Democratic Monarchist and White Resident candidate Bill Boakes in the 1982 Hillhead by-election.

Hard landing for our first balloonist

James Tytler reached the heights as Britain's first hot-air balloonist. In almost any other country, he would have been hailed as a hero



■ Author at work. Tytler wrote most of the second edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

It was in August, 1784, that James 'Balloon' Tytler earned his nickname, rising into the Edinburgh air in his hot-air balloon. The year before in Paris, the Montgolfier brothers had made the world's first balloon flight, but Tytler was the first in Britain. Watched by a small group of hangers-on and curious bystanders at Abbeyhill, near Holyrood, he waited for his oven to heat the air in the canopy of the balloon he had designed.

There must have been general amazement as Tytler's creation lifted off the ground to soar to 350 feet, for this son of the manse was not readily associated with success.

The balloon came down safely in the village of Restalrig after a flight of around a mile. Buoyed by this achievement, Tytler resolved to fit his contraption with a bigger oven, which he did, and tested it one morning when nobody was there to watch. Perhaps this was just as well. The balloon soared into a tree, smashing the oven. It was the end of Tytler's flying career, but his life was exciting enough in other ways.

At the time of his flight he was known around the city as a "hack and scientific dabbler", a pretty sorry figure, although his life had started with great promise. Born in 1745, son of the minister at Fearn, Angus, he was apprenticed to a surgeon in Forfar before starting medical studies in Edinburgh. To help pay his fees, he made several voyages to Greenland as whaling ship's doctor during vacations.

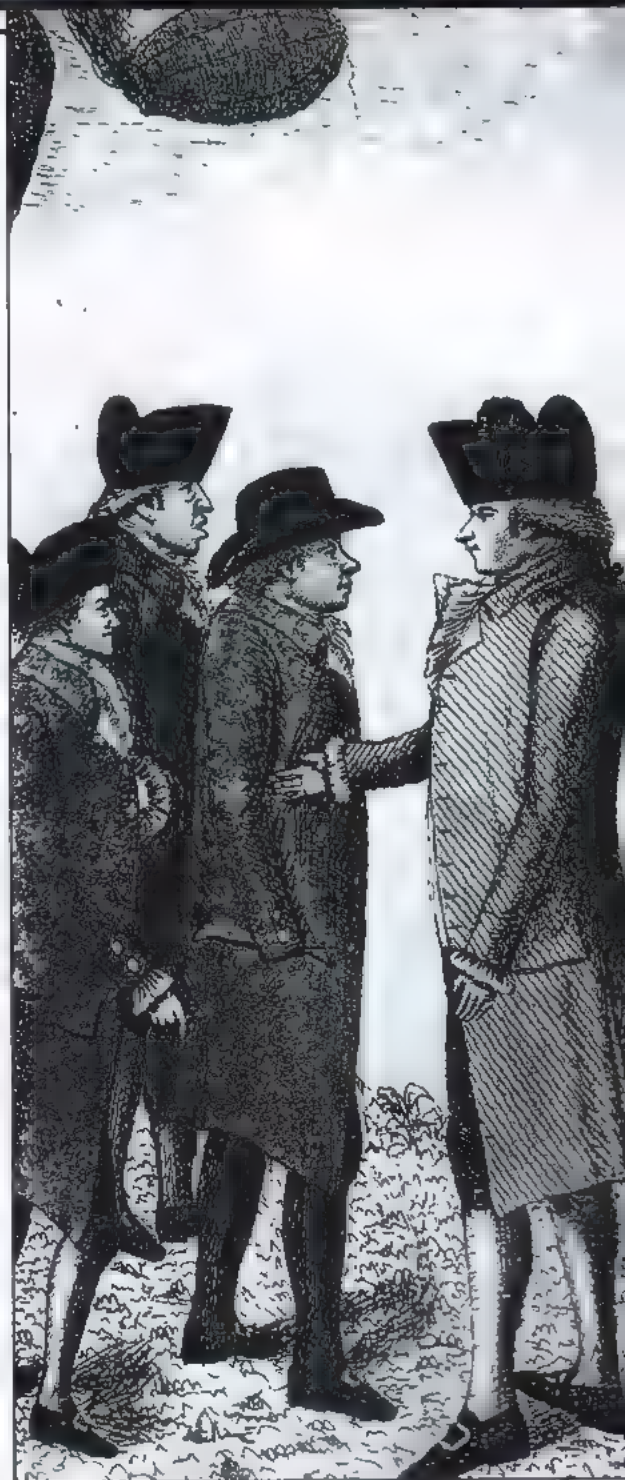
Tytler got married while still a student, and struggled to earn a living. An attempt to set up as a surgery in Edinburgh failed, and he opened an apothecary's shop in Leith.

His wife and lawyer father-in-law persuaded him to join a religious sect called the Glassites, and it was hoped he would get a lot of custom from the members. However, Tytler split from his wife, his business dwindling and he fell deeply into debt.

Ventures in Berwick and Newcastle led to more debt until, in 1772, he returned to Edinburgh and took sanctuary from his creditors in the debtors' refuge at Holyrood.

Tytler didn't give up easily. At the refuge he built a printing press and began to publish theological pamphlets and a short-lived monthly called *The Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine*.

A contemporary described him as "a mortal who drudges about Edinburgh as a common printer, with leaky shoes, sky lighted hat and knee breeches". But he



■ A small crowd gathered to see Tytler's ascent near Holyrood.

was sought out to undertake the massive job of editing the second edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, which took him eight years at the miserable wage of 17 shillings a week.

He not only edited the work but wrote nearly three-quarters of it, amounting to about 9,000 pages. This was surely a significant achievement, but neither his armanship nor his editing brought fame and fortune.

There were other varied but unsuccessful publishing projects before Tytler brought out an anti-government leaflet which angered the authorities, and a warrant was issued for his arrest.

Instead of appearing before the court to be declared an outlaw, he fled to Ireland in 1793, and travelled on to the United States. At Salem, Massachusetts, he edited a newspaper until his death in 1805. Apparently, he was drowned while drunk.

In fact, the only time poor James Tytler really got off the ground was in his balloon.

Death reveals Army chief's feminine side

James 'Miranda' Barry

In his London lodgings one morning in 1865, a former high-ranking Army medical officer was found dead at the age of 70. The usual pathologist's examination was made into a sudden death, and what the investigators found caused a flurry at the War Office. In death, it was discovered that James Barry, the former senior Inspector General of the Army Medical Department, had been a woman.

Neither Barry's manservant nor landlady had suspected this, and nor had colleagues or the Army authorities down a distinguished career lasting 46 years.

Miranda Barry had been dressed as a man when she entered Army service as a hospital assistant aged 18, and had maintained the pretence through a succession of overseas postings and a steady climb to high rank.

In Capetown, she was known as a quarrelsome officer and had fought a duel. She had been arrested more than once for breaches of discipline, but as Barry was such a skilled and valuable physician, these offences were overlooked.

An English peer, Lord Albemarle, met Barry at the Governor's House in Capetown and later gave a pretty shrewd assessment of the doctor. "In appearance, a beardless lad with an unmistakeably Scotch type of countenance, reddish hair and high cheekbones," he wrote.

"There was a certain effeminacy in his manner which he was striving to overcome. His style of conversation was greatly superior to that one usually heard at the mess table."

Miranda Barry was thought to be the granddaughter of a Scottish earl, but this was never proved. Why did she go through this life of pretence? One unlikely theory was that she was motivated by love for a (male) army surgeon.

It is more likely she wanted to succeed at her chosen profession in an age when women were not allowed to be doctors. So she decided there was only one way to break through the 19th century glass ceiling, and she certainly did that.



■ No one knew James Barry was a female until her death.

Warrior on foreign fields

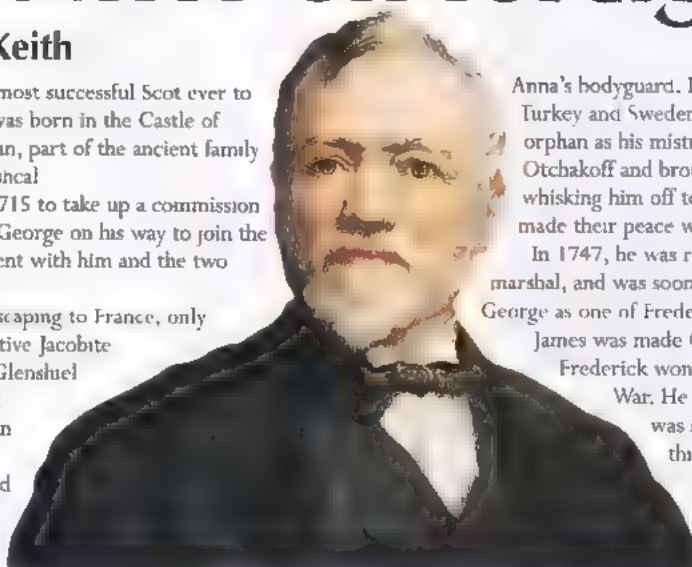
Field Marshal James Keith

James Keith was undoubtedly the most successful Scot ever to fight under foreign colours. He was born in the Castle of Inverugie near Peterhead in Buchan, part of the ancient family which held the title of Lord Marischal.

James Keith was heading South in 1715 to take up a commission in the Army when he met his brother George on his way to join the Earl of Mar's Jacobite Rising. James went with him and the two became inseparable.

They fought at Sheriffmuir before escaping to France, only to return to take part in the next abortive Jacobite landing, seeing action in the battle of Glenshuel before again escaping to the Continent.

For nine years James was a colonel in Spain, and took part in the siege of Gibraltar, from 1726-7. Then he joined the Russian Army where he was appointed to command the Empress



Anna's bodyguard. He distinguished himself in the wars with Turkey and Sweden, where he adopted a bewitching young orphan as his mistress. He was badly wounded in the knee at Otchakoff and brother George sped to his aid from Spain, whisking him off to Paris and eventually London, where they made their peace with the Hanoverian Government.

In 1747, he was recruited by Frederick the Great as field marshal, and was soon joined in the Prussian service by brother George as one of Frederick's chief ambassadors.

James was made Governor of Berlin in 1749, and with

Frederick won most of the early battles in the Seven Years' War. He died on the battlefield of Hochkirch, where he was shot dead while charging the enemy for the third time.

Several memorials were erected to him in Germany, and there as many books about him in German as in English.

■ James Keith fought under many flags.

Man of steel

The legendary philanthropist from Dunfermline, whose steel built the railroads across America, could be as ruthless as he was generous

He was the man who built America. The tough and ruthless Scot who helped create a continent, and in doing so made a fortune which he then gave away. Andrew Carnegie grew from a working class childhood in 19th century Dunfermline to become one of the world's greatest ever businessmen, entrepreneurs and philanthropists.

He was a tireless benefactor who preferred to see others using his millions rather than simply leaving the money to gather interest in a bank account. He founded libraries, paid for buildings, set up trust funds and handed out cash to universities.

Carnegie's generosity was legendary and people all over the world still benefit from his charity giving to this day. Yet this brilliant and famous industrialist was a man of immense contradictions.

Carnegie could be as utterly ruthless as he

was generous. He had virtually no respect for the dignity of his workers, and would try to fleece even his closest allies. On one infamous occasion, men actually died in a pitched battle after he deliberately tried to drive their wages down.

There were other contradictions, too. Despite professing a lifelong love of Scotland, he spent most of his life in the United States. He even claimed to hate the monarchy and the aristocracy while having British peers and even King Edward VII as personal friends.

Andrew Carnegie was born in a cottage in Dunfermline in 1835.

His father was a master handloom weaver who didn't bother forcing his young son to go to school – the young Andrew only attended classes from the age of eight when the local schoolmaster persuaded him to come along.

When he was 13, the family decided to emigrate to America. They sailed from Glasgow to New York, eventually settling near relatives in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, where Andrew obtained a job as a bobbin boy in a textile mill owned by a fellow Scot.

Even then, however, he was determined to better himself. He

signed up for night school, picked up experience in the company office, and in 1849 got a job as a messenger boy at a telegraph company. He soon progressed to telegraph operator, learning to read Morse code in his head.

His big break came when he was 17 and was offered a job as personal telegrapher and secretary to Tom Scott, the superintendent of the new Pennsylvania Railroad.

Carnegie quickly showed his initiative extended far beyond sending messages. When two trains collided and Scott was away on business, the line was blocked and there was total confusion. Carnegie took charge, sent telegraphed orders in the name of his boss, and sorted the problem out.

Another of his triumphs was to spot the opportunities offered by sleeping cars and persuade his bosses to set up a division manufacturing them. He quickly progressed to take Scott's job and become railroad superintendent himself.

Carnegie was already proving to be a brilliant entrepreneur in other ways. As the railways expanded, he learned to buy stocks and shares in companies he could then persuade to do business with the railroad, so increasing their value. This sort of dealing would be illegal today, but it quickly turned him into a millionaire.

He resigned from the railway, invested in iron, and progressed to bridges. His Keystone Bridge Company helped to open up America by building iron structures to replace wooden ones across rivers such as the Missouri and Mississippi. New bridges meant new lines were opened – and the tracks were supplied by another Carnegie company, the Union Iron Works.

Despite his prodigious workload and rapidly increasing wealth, Carnegie never forgot Scotland. He regarded his native Dunfermline as the greatest place in the world – he once described it as "the most sacred spot to me on Earth" – and he returned there for a break, politely declining a suggestion from an aunt that he stay and invest the money he had made in America by opening a small shop in the town.

If Carnegie had retired then, he would have been a rich man for the rest of his life. But the entrepreneurial urge drove him on. He moved into steel, adopting the then revolutionary Bessemer process and building a new plant, the Edgar Thomson works, dedicated to producing

■ Railroads and monster steam engines like this Jupiter, built around 1890, were the foundation for Carnegie's massive fortune.



■ As he grew older, Carnegie spent more and more time in Scotland, mostly at Skibo Castle, and in fine weather he enjoyed sailing on his yacht.

steel railroad rails. In another act of genius, he took on the leader of a group of strikers from a local rival steelworks, Bill Jones, as his superintendent. The men did whatever Jones told them to. They were paid huge wages and divided into teams which competed against each other in productivity terms. Jones quickly became the highest-paid working man in America, earning a salary of \$25,000 a year.

Carnegie continued to wheel and deal with the railway companies. He gave them cheap railway tracks if they agreed to carry his steel for him. The deal became self-perpetuating: he could build bridges, over which he could carry his steel to build more railroad tracks in order to carry more of his products, and so on.

He was delegating more and more to others, giving him time to travel back home to Scotland for extended holidays. On one of his breaks in 1892, he left a manager, Henry Frick, in charge of his steelworks in Homestead, Pennsylvania.

Before he had left, however, Carnegie had shown the ruthless side of his character by agreeing that wages would be lowered and the union derecognised in a bid to drive costs down. There was a strike, and to prevent victimisation of the men who stayed at work, Frick ordered in an army of 300 men from the Pinkerton detective agency in New York.

The men arrived by river, and thousands of workers and their families tried to stop them. The result was a day-long pitched battle in which seven townspeople and three Pinkertons died.

The massacre caused a national outcry and Carnegie had to rush back from his Scottish holiday. His reputation was permanently damaged but, unsurprisingly, he ended up the winner – the men eventually went back for lower wages, and the power of the union was broken.

By 1900, Carnegie Steel was one of the biggest companies in the world. Following the death of

his mother, he had married his fiancée Louise after a long courtship, and bought Skibo Castle in Sutherland, which they used to entertain guests.

Having amassed a huge amount of cash, Carnegie now started to give it away. He took the view – which he wrote down in a famous essay called the *Gospel of Wealth*, published in 1889 – that a rich man should distribute money he didn't need for the general betterment of man.

In 1901, Carnegie sold out his steel interests to the newly formed United States Steel Corporation and devoted himself to philanthropy. The amount of money he began to give away was immense.

Libraries were a preoccupation. He believed people had a right to be able to educate themselves, and provided for a huge number of public libraries all over the world. He was prepared to hand over the money for building and equipping them, as long as the local council provided the site and maintained them. In total, he is reckoned to have built more than 2800 such institutions.

Perhaps out of a sense of guilt for the deaths during the Homestead strike of 1892, he established a pension fund for workers there. Universities, too, benefited from his generosity. Among other endowments, he founded Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, and contributed to a retirement fund for American professors through the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

And, of course, he did not forget Dunfermline. He set up a trust fund with an annual income of £25,000, and gifted other public assets to the town, including Pittencrieff Park, a library, swimming baths and a technical school. To this day, there are two Carnegie Halls in the world which honour his memory – one in the heart of Manhattan, and the other in Dunfermline.

As Carnegie grew older, he spent more

and more time in Scotland. His summers, when he was in Europe, were mostly spent at Skibo Castle, where – despite his belief that the monarchy was outmoded and must go – King Edward VII was an honoured guest.

His desire to spend his money on worthwhile causes grew. One of his last projects was to fund organs for churches, and he paid for hundreds of them during the final years of his life.

Andrew Carnegie finally died in 1919 at the grand old age of 84 and was buried in the United States. By then, he had bequeathed more than £70million. During the final years of his life, he had handed over more wealth than many countries could produce.

In giving away his fortune, Carnegie achieved his aim in life. He was mourned all over the world and remembered not for being a brilliant, uncompromising and ruthless entrepreneur, but as the most generous Scot who ever lived. It is a fitting title, and one he keeps to this day. ●



■ The modest room where Carnegie was born.



■ The King's Knot at Stirling was referred to as The Round Table, a place where King Arthur could have given counselling.

Arthur takes his seat at Scotland's Round Table

One of the oldest and most abiding legends is the story of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. Over the years the story has been credited as having its roots in south-western England but there is a case for Arthur's legendary exploits having taken place in Scotland. It may all be legend, but the arguments surrounding it can be good fun.

Arthur was King of the Britons, and the Britons had their headquarters at Dun Breatann (the fort of the Britons) which we know today as Dumbarton or, more specifically, Dumbarton Rock.

Arthur was said to have been active in the 6th century and that time fits this theory.

To add a little more weight, the town is called Castrum Arthuri (Arthur's Castle) in a record of David II from 1367. David would have been very familiar with this area, as he was raised by his father, Robert the Bruce, in a house, on the banks of the River Leven, within a mile or so of Dumbarton Rock itself. Dumbarton Castle is open to the public, and although it is mostly a shell of its former



Biker historian David R Ross goes on the trail of the Camelot legend

glories, it is worth a visit just to climb to the summit of either of its twin peaks and look at the phenomenal views over the Clyde and the Leven.

Camelon, on the outskirts of Falkirk, has been identified with Camelot, not as bizarre a claim as this might at first seem. The Romans had founded a town here as a base for the running of the northern boundary of their empire, at the Antonine Wall. After the Roman influence declined, it is more than likely that the natives would have used it, including perhaps Arthur himself.

We have, of course, the famous Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh, and Ben Arthur, a mountain at the head of Loch Long, better known as the Cobbler. Unfortunately, these names have derived from some long-lost connection.

Drummelzier, in south-west Peeblesshire, is reputed to be the

burial place of Merlin, the magician whose story is intertwined with that of Arthur. Merlin's grave is sited at the side of the Powsail Burn, which flows into the Tweed some quarter of a mile after running through Drummelzier itself. In a description of Tweeddale published in 1715, it stated that Merlin was buried beneath a thorn tree, a little below the churchyard.

The thorn tree is long gone, but it is interesting to walk the Powsail down to the Tweed, and speculate on the exact location of the final resting place of the world's most famous sorcerer.

One of my personal favourites is the legend concerning the Round Table itself. On the level grassland below Stirling Castle to the west there is a strange symmetrical and angled mound known locally as The King's Knot. The information boards nearby date it to the time of

the Stewart dynasty in Scotland, but a poem written in 1370 by John Barbour, refers to it as The Round Table and there is no doubt that it is this strange construction he is referring to.

Barbour tells how, after the Battle of Bannockburn, King Edward II of England had to make a getaway by travelling by "The Round Table" to escape the clutches of the victorious Scots. It has ramps leading to its summit which knights on horseback could easily have ridden up, in order to stand in a circle on the summit. There is a centre boss where Arthur could have stood to give and receive counselling. It is certainly a poignant place to visit and walk over, but the best views of it can be had from the ramparts of Stirling Castle, high above.

■ King Arthur's legendary exploits could have taken place in Scotland.



That figures...

333,333 Number of pounds that James VI demanded in 1600 to wage war for England's throne.

287 steps must be climbed to reach the top of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens.

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